

The Outlook

Volume 77

Saturday, July 16, 1904

Number 11

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THE OUTLOOK is a Weekly Newspaper and an Illustrated Monthly Magazine in one. It is published every Saturday—fifty-two issues a year. The first issue in each month is an Illustrated Magazine Number, containing about twice as many pages as the regular weekly issue, and many pictures.

PRICE.—The subscription price is Three Dollars a year, payable in advance. Ten cents a copy.

POSTAGE IS PREPAID by the publishers for all subscriptions in the United States, Hawaiian Islands, Philippine Islands, Guam, Porto Rico, Tutuila Samoa, Canada, and Mexico. For all other countries in the Postal Union add \$1.56 for postage.

CHANGE OF ADDRESS.—When a change of address is ordered, both the new and the old address must be given. The notice should be sent one week before the change is to take effect.

DISCONTINUANCES.—If a subscriber wishes his copy of the paper discontinued at the expiration of his subscription, notice to that effect should be sent. Otherwise it is assumed that a continuance of the subscription is desired.

HOW TO REMIT.—Remittances should be sent by Draft on New York, Express-Order, or Money-Order, payable to order of **THE OUTLOOK COMPANY**. Cash should be sent in Registered Letter.

LETTERS should be addressed :

THE OUTLOOK COMPANY

Chicago Office, 1436 Marquette Building

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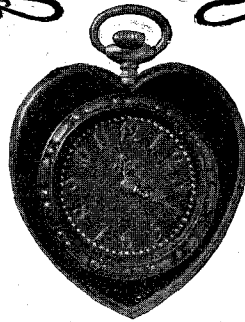
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The Outlook

SATURDAY, JULY 16, 1904

The Semi-Centennial of
the Republican Party

Fifty years ago a political convention was held at Jackson, Michigan. This event was celebrated on Wednesday of last week as the birth of the Republican party. Most political parties have arisen in order to promulgate some theory of government or to advocate some political expedient. The Republican party is exceptional in that it took its rise from a demand for an organized expression of certain moral convictions. Though it may be difficult for many to believe, with Senator Fairbanks, the Republican nominee for the Vice-Presidency, that the Republican party, as he expressed it at the time of this celebration, "has never capitulated to mere expedience or made a truce to wrong," it can hardly be denied that conscience rather than consideration of expedience, that adherence to principle rather than compromise, guided the party in its beginnings. The principal address of the occasion was made by Mr. John Hay, the Secretary of State. As one who was in close personal relation with President Lincoln as his private secretary, and intimately acquainted with the temper of the early Republican leaders, as one whose stalwart character and fine moral sense have furnished quite as important elements of his valued contributions to public life as has his universally admired diplomacy, it is noteworthy that Mr. Hay did not hesitate to say that "no eight years of government in our history have been purer from blame or have conferred greater benefits upon the country than the eight years of McKinley and Roosevelt which claim your approval to-day." This testimony from a man high in public station to the moral quality of present-day public life is at least as weighty as the more usual expressions of distrust in the present. Most of Mr. Hay's speech dealt with the conditions of the present day. His

most striking reference to the achievements of the past was his quietly humorous recognition of the share which Democrats have had in those achievements:

Our opponents sometimes say we have no right to claim the credit of the great deeds of the last half-century—that we could not have accomplished them without the aid of Democrats. Nothing truer was ever said; and it is one of the chief glories of our annals, and it forms the surest foundation of our hopes for the future. The principles upon which our party is built are so sound, they have so irresistible an attraction to patriotic and fair-minded men, that whenever a time of crisis comes, when the National welfare is clearly at stake, when voters must decide whether they shall follow their prejudices or their consciences, we draw from other parties their best men by thousands.

Mr. Hay's tribute to President Roosevelt was especially emphatic because it was distributed throughout his address. Two passages in particular, however, are especially worthy of mention. In the one, comparing him with President Lincoln, he said he believed that he was not violating the confidence of a friend to say that "in times of doubt and difficulty the thought oftenest in his heart is, 'What, in such a case, would Lincoln have done?'" In the other passage he so happily expressed what we believe to be the true estimate of the President's character that we quote three sentences verbatim:

He is prompt and energetic, but he takes infinite pains to get at the facts before he acts. In all the crises in which he has been accused of undue haste his action has been the result of long meditation and well-reasoned conviction. If he thinks rapidly, that is no fault; he thinks thoroughly, and that is the essential.

This celebration deserves to be recorded, not only for the event which it calls to mind, but also for this happily conceived and finely phrased address of one who has brought peculiar

honor not only to his party, but in a larger sense to the Nation.



A Victory for Justice

Another point of critical importance was gained by Mr. Folk in his war upon the bribe-takers and bribe-givers of St. Louis in the recent confession of Charles A. Gutke and the entry of a plea of guilty by Edmund Bersch. The former was a member of the House of Delegates, and he now admits having received a bribe of \$2,500 for his vote for what was known as the city lighting bill. Bersch's plea of guilty is to the same effect. The confessions of these men are more far-reaching than a mere admission of guilt. The story told by Gutke is an astounding narrative of widespread, systematic, and business-like corruption. Among other statements made by him are the allegations that Charles F. Kelly (from whom also a confession is considered probable) received no less a sum than \$50,000 from wealthy men concerned in the corrupt plots, on the condition that he should go to Europe and stay there. Gutke himself was heavily paid to absent himself. His confession shows the callousness of men engaged in this form of dishonesty, when he declares that it did not for a moment occur to him that he was committing a crime in taking money for his vote, until after the prosecutions began. The story of this wholesale bribery in St. Louis has already been told in outline in *The Outlook*, and is confirmed by Gutke's confession. The "combine," he says, got \$20,000, \$18,000, \$75,000, and \$18,000, for passing, or not passing, bills relating to street railways or lighting contracts; while they had arranged to receive for other corrupt acts the sums of \$15,000, \$47,500, and \$75,000—the last-named amount is now in a safe deposit box in St. Louis waiting a claimant. Apart from these specific sums, Mr. Gutke declares that there were innumerable other bribes offered and taken, ranging from \$10,000 to a few hundred dollars, and that the amounts demanded as bribes were fixed in regular formal sessions of the conspirators, after discussions, and by vote. With

the new evidence at his command, it seems certain that Mr. Folk can carry to a sweeping success his prosecution of the criminals. When the State Supreme Court affirmed the sentences of Lehmann and Hartmann, some time ago, the decisive point in the struggle was passed; and, as one of the St. Louis papers says, it was shown that "the law can be enforced against boodlers with political influence." The same paper asserts that, despite the clear and convincing nature of the testimony, every step in the prosecution was a combat against powerful political influences, and even intimates that these influences may be able to place upon the ticket which holds Mr. Folk's name as candidate for Governor the names of men tainted in this investigation. The character of Mr. Folk, however, is too strong, and he is too direct in his methods, to make it credible that he would submit to this.



Corrupt Practices

In consequence of complaints of inefficiency against the law in Massachusetts to prevent corrupt practices in elections, an effort was made at the recent session of the Legislature to stop the gaps which were plainly in sight. At first the two bills which were presented encountered the ridicule of practical politicians, and both of the bills were defeated on their first debatable stage. But a strong rally of the friends of the bills over night, and the realization by the Republican leaders that their party would be held responsible for a failure to stand by purity in elections, led to a reconsideration and reversal of the hostile vote, though the support was grudgingly given. Evasions of the law compelled amendment, if the law was to have any respect. The Democratic State Committee handled very little money last year, and the campaign was run by a personal committee, more acceptable to the candidate than the regular organization, but not amenable to the law. Two years ago the lavish use of money by rival Republican candidates for the nomination to Congress in a district where nomination was equivalent to election scandalized the State. Reform was imperative. One of the

amendments to the law this year makes the requirement for return of expenses apply to contests for nomination as well as for election. The law now says: "No person shall, in order to aid or promote his own nomination or election to a public office, directly or indirectly, himself or through another person, give, pay, expend, or contribute, or promise to give, pay, expend, or contribute, any money or other valuable thing, except for personal expenses or to a political committee as hereinafter provided." Another section requires every candidate for nomination and every candidate for election, within a specified brief time in each case, to file a written statement of the money or things of value, except for personal expenses, contributed or promised by him to any political committee. Personal expenses, says the law, "shall include only expenses directly incurred and paid by a person for traveling and for purposes properly incidental to traveling; for writing, printing, and preparing for transmission any letter, circular, or other publication not issued at regular intervals, whereby he states his position or views upon public or other questions; for stationery and postage; for telegraph, telephone, and public messenger service; and for other similar personal purposes." This prevents all contributions for bands, halls, getting out hacks to carry voters to the polls, and a large range of expenses which are deemed legitimate by a political committee. It is not certain, however, that the law is sufficiently amended now, for a gap has been left open for evasion in making returns by not requiring a return in every case, but only when twenty dollars or more is spent. It is desired not to make the law inquisitorial, but this provision enables persons and committees to omit making returns at all, and thus the authorities have no means of knowing the truth in their case. The officials who have the practical enforcement of the law say that the subject is very difficult to handle, and it will not be strange if further amendment is needed. This is a law that will be watched by other States. It is generally admitted that the English corrupt practices law works well, but so far our States have not framed stringent acts.

Judge Speer on the Chain-Gang

The value of the Federal court as constituting a tribunal from which appeal can be taken from local courts and local legislation, which are apt to reflect local prejudices, and consequently inflict gross and, but for Federal interposition, irremediable injustice, has received a new illustration in the decision of Judge Speer, of Georgia, in the case of Henry Jamison against the Mayor and Council of the city of Macon. Henry Jamison is described as a respectable colored man, between fifty-five and sixty years of age, who was working for many of the reputable people of Macon in house-cleaning, laying carpets, and like work. On his way home at night, last March, he was arrested by two policemen of the city, carried to the city prison, and the next morning brought before the Recorder, charged with drunk and disorderly conduct. The trial was summary. He appears not to have had any opportunity to offer evidence in his own behalf. The record of the court did not even show that he was adjudged guilty; it only showed the sentence inflicted upon him, which was \$25 fine for drunk and disorderly conduct in the street, and \$35 fine for drunk and disorderly conduct in the barracks, and, in default of the payment of the fine, committal to the county chain-gang for the space of 120 days. Unable to pay the fine, he was transferred to the chain-gang and set to work upon the highway. A writ of habeas corpus was sued out in the Federal court. Under this writ he was brought before Judge Speer and discharged, on the ground that, under the Constitution of the United States, no man can be sentenced to such a punishment as is involved in the chain-gang without a jury trial. An appeal has been taken from Judge Speer's decision. As we understand the matter, the prisoner is meanwhile necessarily released. If, on appeal, the decision of Judge Speer is sustained, the present chain-gang law of Georgia will have to be either abolished or very radically modified. We hope that the former result will follow. The chain-gang law of that State has long been regarded, not only by philanthropists, but by all penologists,

as an extraordinary recrudescence of barbarism, quite inexplicable in a State possessing the general reputation which characterizes the State of Georgia. The opinion of Judge Speer, which is an elaborate one, discusses at length the two questions—whether a citizen has a right to demand a jury trial if he is accused of a crime the punishment of which may be sentence to a chain-gang, and whether he may appeal to the Federal courts to protect him in this right—and the authorities which the Judge cites seem conclusively to give an affirmative answer to both questions.



The Chain-Gang Described

This decision furnishes the first official and authoritative description of the operation of the chain-gang law in Georgia which we remember to have seen. Under that law, as it was operated in this case, a man may be sentenced by a police justice, without jury trial, and as the result of summary proceedings, to hard labor on the chain-gang. What such a sentence involves is indicated by the following quotation from Judge Speer's opinion:

The sufferers wear the typical striped clothing of the penitentiary convict. Iron manacles are riveted upon their legs. These can be removed only by the use of the cold chisel. The irons on each leg are connected by chains. The coarse stripes, thick with the dust and grime of the long torrid days of semi-tropical summer, or incrustated with the icy mud of winter, are their sleeping clothes when they throw themselves on their pallets or straw in the common stockade at night. They wake, toil, rest, eat, and sleep to the never-ceasing clanking of the manacles and chains of this involuntary slavery. Their progress to and from their work is public, and from dawn to dark, with brief intermission, they toil on the public roads and before the public eye. About them, as they sleep, journey, and labor, watch the convict guards armed with rifle and shotgun. This is to at once make escape impossible and to make sure that the swift thudding of the picks and the rapid work of shovels shall never cease. . . . More baleful and more ignominious than all, with each gang stands the whipping boss, with the badge of his authority. The evidence discloses this to be a heavy leathern strap about two and a half or three feet long, with solid hand grasp and with broad, heavy, and flexible lash. From the evidence, we may judge that the agony inflicted by this

implement of torture is not surpassed by the Russian knout, the synonym the world round for merciless corporal punishment. If we may also accept the uncontradicted evidence of the witnesses, it is true that in the Bibb County chain-gang for no day is the strap wholly idle, and not infrequently it is fiercely active.

What adds to the infamy of this law is the fact that these prisoners are not worked under State officials, who would be in some sense amenable to the public sentiment of the State, through its higher officers. They are allotted to the various counties, and are set to work under county officials, in gangs, in which desperate criminals and men committed for minor offenses, grown men and young boys, blacks and whites, are indiscriminately intermingled, side by side—the confirmed criminal guilty of burglary, arson, or manslaughter, and condemned after a fair trial before a jury of his peers, and the "lad who loiters on the streets or is overcome by sleep in the depot," and condemned without such trial, enduring the same punishment and liable to the infliction of the same lash. Judge Speer's decision is reported in full in the Macon "Telegraph." We hope the Georgia press will give it wide circulation, and that as a result the Christian philanthropists and the scientific penologists will make common cause to abolish this extraordinary barbarism from the code of an otherwise civilized community.



The Wreck of the Norge

Again negligence and incompetence have brought hundreds in one common disaster to their death. Off the northwestern coast of Scotland, on Tuesday, the 28th of June, the steamship Norge, on its way from Copenhagen to New York with over seven hundred passengers on board, struck a rock and sank. Some six hundred went down with the ship. It was nearly a week before the survivors brought to land the story of women and children helpless in the presence of an undisciplined crew and drowning with rotten life-preservers in their hands. It is the same story that was made distressingly familiar after the burning of the excursion steamer General Slocum at New York. The passengers on the

Norge were emigrants from Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Denmark. Awaiting them were relatives and friends already settled in the United States, husbands looking for their wives and children, brothers and sisters expecting to be joined in their new home in the Northwest by those whom they had not first brought with them. The grief, the misery, that has now visited scores of these home-loving people, while it calls forth anew the sympathy of Americans, ought, by its very needlessness, to increase public indignation against laxity of steamboat inspection and the criminal cupidity displayed in commercial methods. The Norge, though not an American vessel, was subject, like any other steamboat that comes to American ports, to the Federal inspection law. The rotten life-preservers of the Norge, like the rotten life-preservers of the General Slocum, had been officially approved. It seems to have required the loss of fifteen hundred lives to shake official complacency. Week before last there was considerable talk about disregarding Secretary Cortelyou's order for a reinspection, refuge being taken in the phraseology of the Federal law; this talk has suddenly subsided. Official reinspection is already under way. A cartoon in the Pittsburgh "Gazette" represents an inspector examining a theater exit and a string of rotten life-preservers. In order to inspect them, however, he has had to climb up on a heap of coffins. Underneath the picture is written, "What it takes to make some folks see." It is not only official eyes that are being opened. Steamboat companies are now applying for reinspection. Already on one vessel, of three lines of hose examined two were burst under test. In the course of inspection many life-preservers have been rejected. It should be borne in mind, when this reinspection is concluded, that the results are not at all to be taken as indicating what the conditions were prior to the General Slocum disaster. One firm manufacturing life-preservers is reported to have been sending new life-preservers to New York at the rate of fifteen hundred a day. If, therefore, this reinspection should show a fairly satisfactory condition, it

should not be accepted as any exoneration of the steamboat inspection service. It should be welcomed for what it is, a measurably successful incentive for remedying conditions which ought never to have been allowed to exist.



Co-operation Of the many conferences which up to the present have been held at the St. Louis Exposition, that of the co-operators ranks among the most important. Its importance lies in the fact that it was the first National conference ever held in connection with the co-operative movement in the United States. In England co-operative conferences are held every year, and at less frequent intervals there are conferences in connection with the International Co-operative Union, in which the co-operative societies of England and Scotland are to some degree federated with the co-operative societies of Germany, France, Denmark, and other countries of Continental Europe. Hitherto there have been no National conferences in the United States because there has been no sort of union among the numerous societies working on co-operative lines. Mr. N. O. Nelson, of St. Louis, whose articles on various phases of the co-operative movement are familiar to readers of The Outlook, took an active part in organizing the St. Louis Conference, as did Mr. Bradford Peck, of Lewiston, Maine; Mr. J. W. Moore, of San Francisco, and Mr. Alonzo Wardall, of Topeka, Kansas. Mr. Nelson was voted to the chair when permanent organization was completed; and at the end of the three days' sessions many of the delegates went to St. Clair, Illinois, and spent a day at the co-operative colony which has been established there chiefly through Mr. Nelson's practical interest in the co-operative movement. At St. Louis the best showing for the co-operative movement was made by the delegates from the societies which are organized on the Rochdale plan in the Pacific Coast States of California, Washington, and Oregon. There the co-operative movement has grown out of the Grange movement; and to-day there are between sixty and seventy distributive

societies, most of which are affiliated with the Co-operative Wholesale Society at San Francisco. This society is modeled on the Co-operative Wholesale Society of Manchester, England, which is now doing a business of twenty-three millions sterling a year; which has allied with it a bank and a fire insurance society; operates a dozen factories and owns a fleet of steamers trading with Danish, French, German, and Mediterranean ports. As was shown by the delegates, it has not all been plain sailing for the Rochdale Societies in the Pacific Coast States; but most of them have now got over their initial difficulties, they are through Mr. Carnegie's "measles stage," and, with the Wholesale Society gaining strength, there appears to be an assured future for the Rochdale Societies in the Far Western States. There are Rochdale Societies also in Chicago and Toledo—there organized as the Right Relationships League; and the immediate practical result of the St. Louis Conference was the federation of the Pacific Coast Societies and the Right Relationships League for aggressive work east and west of the Rocky Mountains. Co-operative societies for home building, for fire insurance, for grain-handling, and for fruit-packing were all represented at the Conference, and a committee was appointed to arrange for a second National conference to be held next year. From the papers read at the Conference it was possible to learn much of the history of the movement in the United States and the various causes which have prevented any such marvelous progress as has been made by the movement in England, Scotland, or Denmark. There was a general agreement that the great drawback to the movement was the absence of any powerful, representative, central organization such as those which carry such weight in the co-operative movement in Great Britain.



The Exposition
Sunday

If the doors of all the buildings in the Exposition, except those of the Art Galleries, were closed on Sunday, writes a correspondent, it would take a combination of Richmond Park, Hyde

Park, and St. James's Park, with the National Gallery, the Tait Gallery at Chelsea, and the National Portrait Gallery at Whitechapel all thrown in, to make a setting as beautiful and an art gallery as complete as those in Forest Park, where now everything is closed and only the Jefferson Guards are in possession. From all this beauty visitors are now rigidly excluded by the clause embodied in the Exposition Appropriation Act by Congress four years ago. St. Louis is a wide-open city—wide open on Sunday after the German rather than the American fashion. No whisky is sold in the saloons, or at any rate the front doors of the saloons are all closed. But the beer-gardens are all open, and in the neighborhood of the Exposition there are two immense beer-gardens which combined can entertain from thirty to forty thousand persons between noon and midnight on Sunday. Right next to the largest and most popular of these gardens there is a race-track, with races on most Sundays during the Exposition season; and in the open country about the Exposition grounds there are scores of resorts and attractions which would not be tolerated on the "Pike." All the baseball grounds on the outer edge of the city are open on Sunday; so are all the billiard-rooms in every part of the city. In the city itself three or four theaters have two performances a day, and down at the levee there are dozens of excursion boats in waiting for Sunday crowds which seek a cool river breeze, combined with opportunities for gambling with professionals of the lowest and most dangerous type. On Sundays all these places are in full blast; while the beautiful grounds out at Forest Park are tightly closed to the public by a high fence. Even if the Exposition buildings are to be closed, this policy of excluding people from the terraces, the plazas, the lawns, and the groves of Forest Park, and from the art galleries, carries with it no saving of Sunday labor. Street-car traffic to the Sunday attractions is as heavy as it is on weekdays. It is even heavier, for St. Louis's working-class population is at liberty on Sunday, and, like the visitor from a distance, it is drawn to any attraction which

is offered. There is even no saving of work for the restaurant waiters, for visitors must get their meals somewhere. The Exposition management is keeping loyally to the agreement with Congress as to Sunday closing—so loyally, in fact, that on Sundays a fence is built about the hotel within the grounds to keep the three thousand visitors and the twelve hundred help from straying on to the boulevards and avenues of the Exposition. But it can scarcely be claimed that the closing movement has been wholly successful as regards the right keeping of Sunday. We suppose that it is now too late to correct the error; it could be corrected, we judge, only by act of Congress; but that it is an error from every point of view appears to us almost self-evident, and the fact is worth noting now in order that the country may be saved from similar errors in the future. To shut up by law innocent, educative, and helpful places of recreation on Sunday, and leave doubtful, degrading, and positively vicious ones in full operation, and to do this in the name of religion, is to inflict another of those wounds from which religion has so often suffered at the hands of its friends.



The Washington Kindergarten College

Eight years ago, by the generosity of Mrs. Phebe A. Hearst, a Kindergarten College was opened in the city of Washington, and has been sustained by her generous gifts. On May 14 it was announced to the directors of the College that Mrs. Hearst would no longer continue its support. At first there seemed to be no way but to close the institution; but so eminently useful has been its work, and so strongly has it attached its students and those who know what it has done, that both students and friends refused to accept this solution, and have formed themselves into the Washington Kindergarten Association, for the purpose of raising the sum of \$16,000 necessary for carrying on work during the coming year, proposing during that period to put the institution on a permanent basis. It would be a disaster to the city of Washington and to the kindergarten cause if

this admirable institution were closed. Miss Niel, its head, is a teacher whose ability has been tested in many ways, and who has shown herself capable of a fine quality of leadership. During the eight years of its work the College has sent out training teachers, directors of settlement work, supervisors of public kindergartens, and kindergarten teachers for a number of States in the South and Central West. It has enrolled 173 students, of whom several have taken post-graduate courses. During the past year the attendance has increased to forty, exclusive of thirty-one students attending a special post-graduate course. Mothers' meetings under the direction of the College have been eminently successful in regard to numbers and influence; and the post-graduate lectures have not only strongly reinforced the regular college work, but have been of great benefit to teachers in the city of Washington. Dr. Carroll D. Wright has said of the College that it is one of the best training-schools in the country, and has emphasized the importance of its relation to the whole movement of Southern education. It is from this point of view that the country ought to take an interest in the continuance of the work of this institution; for Washington is a strategic point in the educational movement of the day in the South, and the Kindergarten College is in a position to train a great number of teachers to meet the immediate demands of the future in that section. The College forms a part of the group of institutions which must furnish teachers and educational leaders in the South during the next twenty years. An exceptionally strong group of men have associated themselves as an advisory committee of the Washington Kindergarten Association; among them are Bishop Satterlee, Dr. Carroll D. Wright, and Dr. William T. Harris. The Treasurer of the company is the Hon. Henry B. F. MacFarland, 1816 F Street, Washington, D. C.



The Japanese Advance

The fact that the Japanese have taken possession of Kaiping, after three days' active fighting, marks one further important step in their ordered advance,

and its capture emphasizes the truth that Japan is evidently set upon the policy of always "doing the next thing;" that is, taking positions one after the other, without attempting to strike at the Russian army in advance of this occupation of the nearest commanding places. The repeated rumors, for instance, that the Japanese proposed to attack Mukden by sending forces on an eastward route, and thus getting behind the Russian main force, have always seemed improbable, and weekly prove to be more and more unlikely. The occupation of Kaiping goes a good way toward cutting off the Russians in and about Niuchuang, unless they speedily retreat. The Japanese will next, in all probability, advance against Haicheng. A careful estimate by the military correspondent of the London "Times," just published, places the possible strength of Kuropatkin on the first of July at about 125,000 men, while the Japanese have probably something like 200,000 opposing him. The condition of the roads continues to be very bad, and it is questionable whether the Japanese will be able to carry on their advance much further this season. An alleged interview with General Kuroki asserts that the Japanese aim for this year is to occupy the Liaotung Peninsula, seize Port Arthur, and place a garrison there and at Yingkow. In the siege of Port Arthur nothing sensational has happened. Chinese and Europeans continue to be brought to Chefoo in Chinese junks, and give forth varying accounts of affairs at Port Arthur—so varying, in fact, that the English papers are now terming the despatches from this source Chefooleries. The main Japanese position seems to be about ten miles from the fortress, but on the eastward they have been pushing forward and are trying to mount heavy guns within three or four miles of the fortress. The accounts of the torpedo-boat attacks by the Japanese are conflicting; the Russians assert that some of these attacks have been literally suicidal and that many torpedo-boats have been sunk; the Russian accounts also deny that any serious damage has been done to their fleet in the recent attacks; on the other hand, Chinese

accounts allege that two large Russian war vessels are missing from Port Arthur, and that others have been injured.

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The British in Tibet Last week a British storming party sent from the town of Gyangtse, which the British "military mission" has now occupied for some time, captured an outlying fort which has been held by the Tibetans, and was considered by them, it is said, impregnable. It is reported that the latter made a fierce resistance, but that the British casualties were not heavy. The intentions of Great Britain with regard to Tibet were last week disclosed more fully than before, and it is gratifying to Americans to know that this has been the result of guarded and courteous inquiries made by Secretary Hay in pursuance of the recognized Eastern policy of the United States to uphold the integrity of the Chinese Empire. Tibet, it will be remembered, is nominally at least under the sovereignty of China. It is understood that the British Government positively disavows any intention of occupying Tibet permanently, and, indeed, previous utterances in the House of Commons have been to the same effect. The present expedition will retire when the objects for which it was sent have been accomplished. At this point it is interesting to read other despatches of the week from Washington which assert that the British Government entered into the Tibetan expedition only with very great reluctance, and finally consented to send Colonel Younghusband solely in order to sustain the dignity and personal authority of Viceroy Curzon, who thought it necessary to resent the refusal of Tibet to receive his envoys of a year ago or to pay any attention to his request for a settlement of treaty and commercial questions between India and Tibet. Lord Curzon is now on a visit to England, and, it is reported, will urge that a British Embassy be established permanently at Lhasa; the London "Spectator" declares this project as unwise as that of a protectorate, for it involves the necessity of keeping a strong mission guard in the Tibetan capital, and disturbances would be sure to result.

Progress in the Soudan and Uganda

Since the Mahdist power was broken at the battle of Omdurman about six years ago, only fragmentary accounts have reached us concerning progress in the Soudan. After the founding of the Gordon Memorial College, due chiefly to the exertions of Lord Kitchener, assurances were given that the Soudanese would be fairly treated, the Mohammedan religion respected, and the material development of the region hastened. The Soudan almanac recently published shows that these assurances have been made good. It contains an epitome of progress during the past six years. It is evident that Mohammedan civilization in the Soudan under British rule has been placed on an equal footing, so far as concerns the opportunity to learn and improve, with that of its conquerors. The Mohammedan calendar and festival day are officially recognized, Mohammedan schools encouraged, personal and property rights respected, and a large part of the country mapped out and more accurately surveyed, many towns and villages on the White and Blue Niles, and in the vast, fertile, triangular region called the Bahr-el-Ghazel, having been more correctly located and described. Semi-weekly mails run between Cairo and Khartum, and weekly mails between Khartum and places on the Red Sea, and also between Khartum and El Obeid on the west. There is even a monthly mail service between Khartum and the Equatorial Province, the scene of Emin Pasha's explorations. An efficient telegraph service has also been organized, and full official explanations are given as to the rise and fall of the Nile waters, the cotton crops, the various military stations, rules of hygiene, as well as information as to the different officers and magistrates. Hardly less remarkable, though less known in detail, are the improvements in Uganda, especially since the railroad has made easier the distribution of supplies. Before that the missionaries were hampered by difficulties from which they are now free; but since the translation of the Bible into the native language was completed in 1897, it has been difficult to supply

the demand for religious instruction. About fifty thousand natives can now read and write. In 1902 there were 1,070 Protestant churches, 38,844 members of the Church of England, and an average church attendance of 52,471. In Mengo, the capital, there is a Church of England cathedral seating 4,000 persons. The Catholic missions have also been very successful. Most of the teaching in the schools and missions is done by native teachers.



Greek Plays in England

It was not many months ago that, by coincidence, the "Ajax" of Sophocles was given on the same night in Athens and New York. And now, within a fortnight of each other, six Greek plays have been given in England—the "Agamemnon," the "Libation Bearers" and "Furies" of Æschylus, the "Electra" of Sophocles, and the "Hippolytus" and "Alcestis" of Euripides. Thus an unusual opportunity has been afforded for the comparative study of the three great dramatists. Almost equally interesting was a comparison between the varying conceptions and the circumstances under which the plays were given, from the quaint simplicity of the school-boys at Bradfield to the marvelous acting of Mr. Granville Barker in the "Hippolytus;" from the pathetic young Greek Orestes in the "Electra" to the deep tragedy in Mr. F. R. Benson's conception of Orestes in the Æschylus dramas. By far the most wonderful thing in its way was the Greek play at Bradfield College, which Dr. Gray, with generous enthusiasm, produces every third year in the exquisite Greek theater which he has built. In view of the fact that the "Alcestis" is to be given in New York next winter, it was interesting that that should have been the play chosen for Bradfield this year. The boys produced it, under the scholarly direction of the Warden. The appreciative audience, gathered from all corners of England and beyond, fell under the spell while approaching the theater. A gap in the hedge at the roadside, and a winding pathway overarched with shadowing trees and hung with vines and honey-

suckle, curves down the hillside and leads one, expectant but mystified, till a sudden turn reveals the Greek Theater, with its sweep of gray stone seats rising to the wooded crest of the hill, arched by a soft blue sky. Facing the seats is the richly colored temple, with wreathed statues, and the smoking altar in the center. The charm of the setting is greatly enhanced by the feeling of permanence. It is hard to believe that this hillside was not carved out many hundred years ago, for the theater seems always to have nestled in its arms. Wild roses spring between the stones; and vines and blossoming shrubs make patches of welcome green amid the gray. When to this is added the delicate sweetness of English midsummer, with the song of thrush and blackbird and lark, with swallows wheeling overhead and darting in and out of the temple, can one imagine a more perfect setting for a Greek drama? The boys who were privileged to act amid these surroundings made good use of their opportunities, and the wonderful play, so modern in spirit, with the secret self-sacrifice of Alcestis, and the fair hope breaking through the gloom at the end, made a deep and lasting impression.



The St. Louis Convention

It would be easy to write either a partisan criticism or a partisan defense of the National Convention at St. Louis. But it is difficult to give at this time such an interpretation as the future historian will give. It is difficult because the whole history is not known, and because the events which are to grow out of it, and so to indicate to the future historian its historical significance, have not occurred, and cannot easily be forecasted. In our endeavor to afford such an interpretation it is not at all improbable that we may fall into errors which time will indicate, and which, in that case, we shall be ready to correct.

Speaking broadly, the Republican platform is one of affirmations, the Democratic platform is one of criticisms. From the opening speech of John Sharp Williams, the temporary chairman at

St. Louis, whose address was rather a criticism of Mr. Root's address at Chicago than a statesman's reply to it by the presentation of a different view and a different policy, to the closing paragraph of the platform, which was an indictment of the Republican administration as "spasmodic, erratic, sensational, spectacular, and arbitrary," the Convention resembled a Grand Jury which is endeavoring to bring a culprit to the bar, and is more concerned to prove it unworthy of confidence than to declare explicitly the grounds on which it wishes the people to transfer their confidence to its rival and antagonist.

On the Republican platform stands a candidate who has expressed himself in vigorous terms on every political issue before the American people. The most common criticism of Mr. Roosevelt is that he has been too vocal, that he has spoken when silence would have been golden, and that by the audacity of his speech no less than of his action he has dominated his party, and through it seeks to dominate the country. No one has ever called Mr. Roosevelt to account for maintaining a sphinxlike silence. On the Democratic platform stands a candidate who but for one utterance, as terse and explicit as it was dramatic and significant, has maintained an absolute silence on the political issues of the past eight years. We do not criticise this silence. We do not think it just to him to call him a "mystery." There is very good reason why a man occupying so exalted a judicial position should be silent on political issues, any one of which may at any time, under our system, become a judicial question and be brought before him for adjudication. It may well be argued, also, that dignity and good taste require a man to keep silence when his name is about to be presented to a Convention for nomination to the highest office in the land, since any speech then may naturally be regarded as a bid for support. Moreover, his explicit declaration to the Convention after his nomination, "I regard the gold standard as firmly and irrevocably established, and shall act accordingly if the action of the Convention to-day is ratified by the people," justifies the claim of his friends

that he has definite opinions on great National questions, and dares to give expression to them when in his judgment the time for speech has come. Nevertheless, however Mr. Roosevelt may be criticised for his speech or Mr. Parker may be defended for his silence, it remains true that the whole country knows exactly what are Mr. Roosevelt's opinions on every question at issue before the Nation, and no one in the country outside the circle of Mr. Parker's most intimate friends knows his opinions upon any one of them except the question of the gold standard.

It is, furthermore, clear, we think, that the Republican party is a unit on every question before the country, and the Democratic party is divided into two parties whose principles are irreconcilable. The history of the past makes it perfectly clear what will be the line of National development which the Republican party will pursue if it is reinvested with power. It will maintain a high protective tariff and endure whatever evils that may inflict upon the country in promoting favored industries and great aggregations of capital. It will maintain Dependencies under the American sovereignty but not part of the American Union, without hesitation, so long as its leaders believe that their maintenance is for the common welfare. It will not discourage great aggregations of capital, and it will endeavor by more or less heroic measures to bring them under Governmental supervision and control. It will take an active part in the world's history, not dissuaded therefrom by the counsels of Washington uttered in another era and under different circumstances. It will be bold and perhaps audacious; courageous and possibly combative; it will promote industrial prosperity and take the risks of great industrial organizations. Its policies in these and other respects are clearly outlined, and the perils which they may involve and the departures which they certainly do involve from the traditions of the founders of the Republic can easily be foreseen. It is not so easy to foresee what is the purpose or what will be the policy of the Democratic party. This is partly because the his-

tory of the Democratic party for the last forty years has been mainly that of a party in opposition; partly because it is really two parties, one of which thinks the Republican party goes too far in the direction of governmental control of private enterprises, the other of which thinks it does not go far enough.

In these three respects the interpretation of the St. Louis Convention appears to us tolerably clear; it represents criticism rather than construction, and a compromise of conflicting parties rather than the positive affirmations of a united party.

Upon the remaining point our interpretation is more questionable; it remains to be seen whether subsequent events will confirm or contradict it.

We live in an age and a country characterized by great organizations and inspired by the spirit of commercialism. In such an age it is inevitable that the men of shrewd judgment, strong will, and great ambition should become masters of the great commercial organizations, as in an ecclesiastical age such men become masters in the church, and in a military age become masters through the army. These great commercial organizations, under the direction of captains of finance, present one of the most fundamental of our National problems. It is said, not without reason, that if we allow such organizations to exist uncontrolled by the Government, they will become dangerous; and if we make the Government strong enough to control them, the Government will become dangerous.

This seems to us to be the attitude of the Democratic party as it is expressed by the action of the Democratic Convention. It denounces the protective tariff as a robbery of the many to enrich the few; condemns gigantic trusts and combinations "as a menace to beneficial competition and an obstacle to permanent business prosperity;" it would forbid any monopoly to do business outside the State in which it is organized—a principle which would apparently prohibit the business of the Steel Trust, the Sugar Trust, and the Standard Oil Company. At the same time it condemns the Republican administration for its usur-

pation of power, and, by implication if not in express terms, condemns the course of the Republican party in strengthening the powers of the central government; denies the right of the Federal Government to extend the authority of the Nation over Dependencies not represented in the Nation; opposes "unnecessary entanglement in Oriental and European affairs" and "a policy of colonial exploitation," which words can be interpreted only as a condemnation of the diplomacy of John Hay and the colonial policy of Presidents McKinley and Roosevelt. On the other hand, the Republican party advocates a permanent protective system; declares that combinations whether of labor or capital are entitled to the protection of the laws and subject to regulation and control by the law; and by its applause of the diplomatic and colonial policy of the past Republican administrations, by its demand for a powerful navy, and by its indorsement of Mr. Roosevelt's course "without reserve, to the considerate judgment of mankind," places itself on record in favor of a strong government, administered by a strong executive, in dealing with strong powers whether at home or abroad, whether in foreign or domestic policy.

The opposition of Mr. Bryan to the very moderate gold plank which the subcommittee on resolutions proposed was not a factious opposition. It was part of a policy which he has consistently pursued of opposing the money power in the country by endeavoring to weaken it. The affirmation of the gold standard by Judge Parker is not to be interpreted as a bid for the vote of the State of New York. It was the entirely courageous and prompt declaration of a Democrat whose instinctive sympathies are with the great industrial organizations of his State, but who has not yet stated, if he has yet carefully thought out, what means, if any, should be taken to prevent their autocratic control.

It is impossible at this juncture to define what the issues of the campaign will be, because they are determined by the people, not by the platforms. But so far as the two conventions, the two candidates, and the two platforms indi-

cate, the most fundamental issue in this campaign is, Shall we permit and encourage an industrial development, with the gigantic combinations which such development involves, and make a government strong enough to control them? or, Shall we discourage such combinations, and even by drastic measures prohibit them, and give our government substantially no greater powers than belonged to it half a century ago? The first policy is perfectly clearly presented by the Republican platform and the candidate who stands upon it; the second policy has to be deduced from the prolonged debates of a divided convention, the somewhat ambiguous utterances of a platform rather critical than constructive, and, until his letter of acceptance breaks his hitherto preserved silence, a candidate whose one unenigmatical speech indicates rather the Republican than the Democratic spirit.



The Open Shop

Our object in this article is, first, to define the issue joined between the "open shop" and the "closed shop;" and, secondly, to give our judgment on that issue and the reasons upon which it is based.

An open shop is one in which union men and non-union men may work side by side upon equal terms. A closed shop is one from which either union men are excluded by the employer, or non-union men are excluded by the union; but, ordinarily, the term is applied only to those shops which are closed against non-union men by the refusal of union men to work with them. It is in that sense we use the phrase in this article. Are trades-unions justified in insisting upon the closed shop—in insisting, that is, upon the exclusion from the industry in which they are engaged of all workmen who do not belong to the union?

The arguments for the closed shop deserve careful consideration; they may be briefly stated thus: Workingmen have a right to choose *with* whom they shall work, as well as *under* whom they shall work. Sometimes the industry is made extra-hazardous by the employ-

ment of an incompetent workingman; often it is made extra-difficult. For this reason a fireman has a right to refuse to work with a green locomotive engineer, or a locomotive engineer with a green fireman. But a workman has a right to protect not only his life, but also his feeling. He has a right to refuse to work in the intimacy of a common employment with a man who is *persona non grata*; and there is a real reason why the non-union man is *persona non grata* to the union man. Without sharing the expenses or the obligations of the union, he gets, in improved conditions, better wages and shorter hours—all the benefits which the union secures from the employer. The union man has a right to refuse to work with a companion who takes all the advantages of the union without sharing its burdens. Moreover, if the shop is open on equal terms to both union men and non-union men, the employer will be apt gradually to supplant the union men with non-union men, because it is easy to increase the hours and reduce the wages where there is no union to interpose organized resistance to such industrial injustice. Finally, the object of the union is not merely to get larger wages, lessened hours, and better conditions. The workingman denies the assumed right of the employer to manage his business as he pleases. He insists that the employer and employed are partners in a common enterprise, and that the employee has a right to be consulted as to the conditions of the work, and to share in its prosperity when it is prosperous, as he is certain to share in its adversity when it is unprosperous. The object of the union is to secure a real co-operation for the workingman with the employer, on something like equal terms. This can be done only by "collective bargaining;" that is, by an agreement entered into by a body of workingmen acting together as a union, with the employer, who is generally a body of capitalists acting together in a corporation. Only thus can democratization of industry be secured and the autocracy of industry be ended; and this result is indispensable in order to bring the industrial organization of America into harmony

with its political, educational, and religious organizations.

These considerations seem to us to furnish very good reasons for the organization of labor. But do they also furnish good reasons for compelling workingmen to join organizations of labor against their will? For the real question at issue between the closed shop and the open shop is not, Shall labor organize in order to deal on terms of greater equality with organized capital? but, Shall the laborer be compelled to join such organization in order to get opportunity to labor?

This question is really two questions: Is the closed shop illegal? If not illegal, is it against the public interest, and therefore and to that extent immoral?

In a recent case in Illinois the closed shop has been adjudged illegal. From the decision, rendered in June last, an appeal has been taken to the Supreme Court of the State, and pending that appeal the decision cannot be regarded as conclusive. In this case a draft agreement was proposed by a trades-union, which provided that only men of the union should be employed, and, this agreement being rejected by the employer, a strike was declared, and picketing was instituted to reinforce the strike. The Court held not only that the picketing was unlawful because it involved a suggestion of violence, but that the strike was unlawful because it was an endeavor to coerce an employer to make a contract against his will, and that the contract itself would have been illegal because it would have tended to create a monopoly. This decision does not appear to us to accord with either fundamental principles of justice or with the precedents set by decisions of other courts in England and in this country. Those precedents sustain the decision that picketing is illegal if it employs or suggests forcible interference with the rights of free labor; but those precedents also affirm the right of laborers to organize for the purpose of entering into collective bargaining with employers, and to refuse to enter into such a collective bargain with the employer except on terms acceptable to the laborers. That a strike may be so organized as to be in the nature of an illegal conspiracy

against persons and property we do not doubt, but a mere combination to stop work except upon terms proposed by the combination surely is not such a conspiracy. If it were, there would be an end to the right of free collective bargaining; for there can be no free bargaining if both parties are not free to refuse to enter into the bargain. Nor can an agreement by one employer to employ only men belonging to a specified organization be said to tend to monopoly. A monopoly is "such an exclusive privilege to carry on a traffic, or deal in or control a given class of articles, as will enable the holder to raise prices materially above what they would be if the traffic or dealing were free to citizens generally." An agreement by The Outlook to buy all its paper of a particular mill does not tend to give that mill a monopoly of paper manufacture. No more does an agreement by The Outlook to get all the employees in its composing-room from a particular labor organization tend to give that labor organization a monopoly. Such exclusive contracts in articles of commerce are very common. It is difficult to see why they should be illegal when labor, not the product of labor, is the commodity dealt in. Whether Judge Adams's decision is sustained by the Supreme Court of Illinois or not, we do not believe that the principles enunciated in that decision will be sustained generally by the courts in this country. In a country where labor is free, an employer has the legal right to refuse to employ any union labor, and equally the legal right to refuse to employ any non-union labor. We do not believe that the closed shop is illegal, though, of course, violence, threats of violence, or even remote suggestions and intimations of violence, in order to enforce the closed shop, are illegal, and ought to receive far more serious penalty than is ordinarily inflicted.

But, if not illegal, is the closed shop against public policy, and therefore and to that extent immoral? Our answer to this question is in the affirmative.

The collective bargaining is an advantage to workingmen. It will, we believe, eventually prove an advantage to the entire community. It tends to give the

workingmen some share in the control of the industry to which they contribute; and some share in that control they ought to possess. The organization of labor and consequent collective bargaining are a necessary consequence of the organization of capital, whose bargains are collective. The only possible remedy for an industrial autocracy is labor organization; and industrial autocracy is unendurable in a free commonwealth.

But if collective bargaining can be obtained only by sacrificing free bargaining, the price paid would be too great for the benefits secured. The very object of collective bargaining is to secure freedom, which is practically, though not theoretically, denied if the individual workingman must make his contract single-handed with a great collective capitalistic organization. But to deny him the liberty to make his contract single-handed if he wishes is not to secure him freedom of contract, but to transfer him from one autocracy to another. And this, in fact, is what has taken place in some trades, in which men are no longer free, but have the question whether they shall work, when they shall work, and on what terms they shall work determined for them, sometimes by a small body of men acting in secret, sometimes by a mob of men swayed by their passions or their prejudices. If the only remedy for the autocracy of capital is the possibility of collective bargaining, the only remedy for the autocracy of a labor union is the possibility of individual bargaining.

Freedom of bargaining is not only thus essential to the community, and especially to the workingmen, it is also essential to the best interests of the trades-unions. The trade-union, to be permanently efficient, must be an organization of free men; it must be composed of members who believe in unionism and are loyal to it; it must be an industrial army of volunteers, not of drafted men; it must make its way in the labor world by persuading the laborers that it is for their interest to join it and be loyal to it, not by coercing them to join it by threats of violence on the one hand or of starvation on the other. There is only one organization which in

a free community men may be compelled to join whether they will or not—namely, the State. They are born into the State, are members of the State, must obey the laws enacted by the State, in time of danger must come to the defense of the State, must, if necessary, hazard their lives for the State. This is true of no other organism. If they are coerced into the church, as they were in the Middle Ages, the same process which deprives them of their freedom deprives the church of its spiritual vitality. If they are coerced into a labor organization, as some labor leaders would have them in this twentieth century, the same process which deprives them of their freedom deprives the labor organization of that spirit of brotherhood which is at once the justification for its existence and the inspiration of its power. The right of labor to organize rests upon the right of the individual to labor. Whoever denies this right of the individual denies the foundation on which the right of organized labor rests.

If any man is inclined to say that a free labor union is the dream of an idealist, and is quite impracticable in a world of selfish and sordid men, the answer is to be found in the fact that some of the greatest and most successful of the labor organizations have always adhered to the principle of the open shop. We believe that all the railroad labor organizations are free organizations. In the Pennsylvania coal-mines union and non-union miners labored together in the same mine and reaped the same benefits from the collective bargaining carried on for them by John Mitchell. In the recent anarchy in Colorado, the one mine which went on with its work peacefully, prosperously, and without disturbance, until it was closed by military orders, was a mine which maintained the principle of the open shop, and in which union and non-union men worked peacefully together.

Our conclusion, then, is that collective bargaining in most organized industries is for the interest of employer, of employed, and of the general community; that this collective bargaining will be more speedily and permanently secured by the maintenance of free labor

unions than by swelling the ranks of labor unions through processes of compulsion; that the closed shop is not and ought not to be illegal; but that it is against the interests of workingmen, of labor organizations, and of the general community; and, whether closed by the employer against union men, or by organized labor against non-union men, is alike inconsistent with the fundamental principles and the essential spirit of free American institutions.



Thy Will be Done

Is the prayer "Thy will be done" a petition or a submission? Is it desire or acquiescence? It makes a great deal of difference whether we read into it the first or the second meaning. Submission is the surrender of one will to another; consecration is the devotion of one will to another. The patient submits to an operation in the hospital; the soldier devotes himself to death in a forlorn hope.

In the case of Jesus Christ it is clear that these are the words, not of submission, but of consecration; they are not the surrender of his will to his Father's will; they are the identification of his will with his Father's will. His interpretation of this petition is his prayer in Gethsemane; and his prayer in Gethsemane is, "Not my will, but thine, be done." He states what would be his inclination; but he couples this with the earnest petition that his inclination may not be decisive. I wish, he says, not to decide this question; I only wish to carry out thy decision.

Throughout his life Jesus Christ was not merely submissive to his Father's will; it was his will to do his Father's will. When, a mere boy of twelve, his parents missed him in Jerusalem, he wondered that they should not have instantly divined that he would be at the Temple school inquiring about his Father's business. When he was tempted in the wilderness, apparently he did not at first know how the suggestions came to him; but all perplexity was dissipated when the tempter suggested that he acknowledge, even for a moment, the suzerainty of any other than his Father,

When he went up to the Temple and found the traders filling the court with their cattle and doves, and maintaining a corrupt monopoly under the Temple roof, what filled him with indignation was the fact that they had turned his Father's house into a den of thieves. When he preached his first sermon in the synagogue at Nazareth, his theme was the mission which his Father had given him to fulfill. When he foretold his Passion and death, and one of his most intimate friends attempted to dissuade him, he turned with indignation upon the disciple who would divert him from carrying out his Father's will; "Get thee behind me, Satan," he cried. When the time of the Passion approached, he went up to Jerusalem without halting or hesitation, going before, and his disciples following after, amazed and perplexed. When the interval before his betrayal was counted by hours, not days, and, with the full prevision of the agony before him, he knelt to pray, his prayer was, "*Not* my will, but thine, be done." And when, in the tramp of the soldiery coming to arrest him, he heard the answer to that prayer, and the summons to drink the bitter cup to the dregs, he went forward to meet the betrayer and give himself up to cruelty and death, fulfilling his declaration, I lay down my life of myself. In all this record there is not once an indication of resignation or submission—that is, of the surrender of a reluctant will to the will of Another, wiser, stronger, better; there is throughout the consecration of a will to achieve the purpose of Another. His ambition to do that Other's will dominated all his life and inspired and directed all his energies.

Resignation and submission are often regarded as the graces of a weak nature; strong men regard them as feminine rather than masculine graces. Whether this is true we will not here undertake to decide. But consecration is distinctly the grace of a strong nature, and gives strength to the weak. I may doubt my own wisdom, I may doubt whether the result of my action will be what I had expected; I may forebode evil where I had intended good; I may grow discouraged because the

expected results delay or are disappointing. But if I am working for Another, if I am carrying out his directions, if I have implicit confidence in his knowledge and his power, if I believe that he is wise enough to get beneficent results out of my folly, if my will is to do his will and I am more than glad to leave the results to him, if I believe that "He always wins who sides with God," and that

"Ill that God blesses is our good,
And unblest good is ill;
And all is right that seems most wrong
If it be His dear will,"

how can my courage fail in any undertaking, or I be disheartened at any apparent and temporary result?

This truth that consecration is more than resignation, that the prayer "Thy will be done" is more than a surrender of the will of man to the will of God, and that the answer to that prayer is not only alleviation in disaster and comfort in sorrow, but also inspiration to heroic achievement, finds fine illustration in the verse of John Hay, which at once illustrates and is illustrated by his remarkable diplomatic career:

"Not in dumb resignation
We lift our hands on high;
Not like the nerveless fatalist,
Content to do and die.
Our faith springs like the eagle's,
Who soars to meet the sun,
And cries exulting unto Thee,
O Lord, Thy will be done.

"Thy will! it bids the weak be strong;
It bids the strong be just:
No lip to fawn, no hand to beg,
No brow to seek the dust.
Wherever man oppresses man
Beneath the liberal sun,
O Lord, be there, Thine arm made bare,
Thy righteous will be done!"

In the faith that, although life is a mystery, it is not a muddle, for God is in his world bringing order out of apparent chaos; in the reverence which trusts and obeys God, mingled with the affection which clings to him and rejoices in him; in the will set to do God's will and have a little share in God's work of healing, helping, conquering love, is found the secret of a courage which no dangers can daunt, a patience which no delays can exhaust, and a confidence which no disappointments can destroy.

The Negro and his Creator

Permit me to express a pleasure in being made to realize that some of our people in the Northern States are beginning to estimate the negro at his true value, so that at some time in the not far distant future he will be given the place intended for him by the Creator. We find and are instructed that "He created man in His own image." Now, are you willing to accept, to acknowledge, that the negro was created in or after the same image as yourself, as the Caucasian race? If you do not so confess, do not so acknowledge, you must place him as of and among the lower orders, the brute creation.

The negro belongs to the "*feræ naturæ*." He has no soul; he is merely more highly developed than the simian family. A slave, he was a domesticated beast. Removed from bondage by emancipation, he regards freedom as not liberty but license, reverts to his natural position, "*feræ naturæ*," as do all domesticated animals when relieved from domestication.

The negro has no soul, no God-given mental or intellectual qualifications of manhood. The few instances of semblance of intellect which can be named as among so-called negroes have arisen because of and from the Caucasian blood injected into the veins by miscegenation.

Consider!

W B. W.

See recent report of travelers in interior of Porto Rico, where, remote from intercourse with and example of Caucasians, negroes are already reverted to cannibalism!

This letter, which, as the writer implies, represents the North quite as well or ill as the South, assumes that the white man knows the place intended for the negro by the Creator. The difficulty with assuming this is that it has proved an insuperable obstacle in times past for one class to fix the place for another class. In England the aristocracy undertook to fix the place intended for the common people by the Creator, and to instruct them that they must be content with so much of education and development as would adapt them to that place and to no other. In the eighteenth century and prior, men undertook to determine what was the place intended for women by the Creator, and to shut them up within the confines of that place and not allow them to go out of it. In the first half of the nineteenth century and prior to that time, the majority of people in this country thought that slavery was

the place intended for the negro by the Creator. And some of them fought very vigorously to keep him in that place, and failed; it must have been because they misunderstood the Creator; it will hardly be claimed by any one that the Creator was not able to carry out his intentions.

How are we to know for what place the Creator has intended any man? There is only one way. Give him the liberty of securing the fullest, freest, and best possible development. He is entitled to any place for which he can fit himself, and no man can tell by a *priori* reasoning for what place another man can fit himself. No one could imagine from reading the description of the Anglo-Saxon people in, say, the seventh or eighth centuries, that they were intended by their Creator to be the leaders of European civilization. No man knowing anything of the Japanese people in the first half of the nineteenth century could imagine that the Creator intended them for the place which they now occupy. No man can possibly forecast what is the place which the Creator intends for the Chinese race or for the negro race. Who could guess what the acorn would grow to when planted, if he had never seen an oak? Who could guess into what kind of manhood a babe would grow if he had never seen a man? Who could forecast a Newton or a Bismarck, a Browning or a Gladstone, from the babe crowing and kicking in his nurse's arms?

What we demand for the negro is liberty, and what we mean by liberty is the right to make everything of himself that he can make. If he can make of himself a Booker T. Washington, and teach the whole Nation, black and white, something respecting the fundamental principles of education for a race just emerging from slavery, he has a right to make of himself a Booker T. Washington, and all the country should welcome the result. If he can make of himself a farmer or a porter or a gardener or a cotton-field hand, he should make of himself the very best farmer or porter or cotton-field hand he can, and he should have every encouragement to do so.

We protest vigorously, then, against

the doctrine that one man can determine for another man what his place shall be, and what may be the limits of his development, or that one race can do this for another race. Before any man can tell us what is the place intended for the negro race by the Creator, he must give us some evidence that he has been admitted into confidential relations with the Creator, and knows what the Creator's plans and purposes are.



The Spectator

In these days of time and labor saving projects, the bustle and "step-lively-please" of the city, to which newspapers cater by their headlines that he that sits opposite you in the car may read, have become infectious. The student no longer has time for meditation and assimilation. He must bolt his intellectual food like a quick lunch. Even his recreation has become strenuous; he spends a day on the golf links with his "eye on the ball" instead of drawing inspiration from the "free sky and stars," Nature's storage-battery of "sweetness and light." Under conditions like these, when short cuts even to a college degree are coming into vogue, it is no wonder that our language has fallen victim to the shearing process, and that letters are lopped off, until words are but skeletons of their original selves.



The Spectator does not question the difficulties of English spelling; indeed, he himself is a sufferer, and finds relief only by constant application to the dictionary or to the "born spellers" with whom his family is blessed. This latter habit shows that even the Spectator does not altogether refuse to save time and labor at the expense of principle. How often, when a teacher, he would say to his pupils, "It will do you much more good to look up the point for yourselves." A few days ago the Spectator was reminded of a perennial story of the difficulties of English spelling, and it kindled his memory of these his school-teaching days. The story is this:

Teacher—Spell nose.

Child (a believer in phonetic spelling)—N-o-z-e.

Teacher—No, n-o-s-e. Spell froze.

Child—F-r-o-s-e.

Teacher—No, f-r-o-z-e. Spell blows.

Child, hesitating between z and s, chooses the latter—B-l-o-s-e.

Teacher—No, b-l-o-w-s. Spell goes.

Child, bewildered—It's g-o-z-e or g-o-s-e or g-o-w-s.

Teacher—No, my dear, it's g-o-e-s.



As a school-teacher, the Spectator was not engaged to teach spelling, but he soon found that it was one of those "extras" that no teacher can do without, any more than a well-educated person without "French, music, and washing," so he set himself to study the mistakes and to classify them. He found that the trouble was due to ill-advised attempts at phonetic spelling, not to be used *ad libitum* in English. Over fifty per cent. of his papers contained "repetition" and "similie," so that when these words were spelled correctly, it elicited praise, and the student stood several inches higher in his estimation—a case where the small frog in the big puddle was exalted.



But the Spectator could readily forgive a Mrs. Malaprop for the refreshment she furnished in the wastes and solitudes of hours spent in correcting papers. At times ancient and modern history became curiously confused, as where the pupil said that the Romans caused their prisoners to pass under the "yolk"—leaving to his reader's imagination the much-bespattered condition in which they emerged from the ordeal. And the test of the fortitude of the Spartan youths showed the experience of the too recent boy in his statement that it was customary to "scour" (scourge) them before the altar of Artemis. All this the Spectator could read and not grow weary; it tickled his fancy to be told of Swift's "satyrs," of "adversity (diversity) of treatment," and of the "epitaphs" (epithets) that mark the ballad style. It reminded him of the clergyman that wrote of his "weakly prayer-meeting." One curious mistake, however, that for a time baffled even

the Spectator, who prides himself on his proficiency in Sherlock Holmes's methods, was the assertion that among the early English there flourished "papal lays." As the Spectator is used to having his bread come back to him in crumbs, he felt sure that in its original form the statement must have emanated from him. Popular lays there were, which the hurry of note-taking had made an illegible "popul," and the examination cram had translated "papal."



Why spell at all? This is the happy solution of difficulties offered by note-taking and phonetic spelling—two processes that seek to minimize the labor of spelling. The former outruns the latter by its adoption of symbols, and suggests the question, Why should we not all be expert stenographers? Such is the logical outcome of the theory of phonetic spelling. But before we reach that millennium the Spectator foresees disastrous results of such endeavor, for sectionalism is unavoidable in a truly phonetic system. Dialect will be emphasized by its justification in the written language, for if a standard be adopted, it cannot be phonetic, and we shall be led to exclaim with the fourteenth-century writer as he surveys the dialect difficulties in the England of his day: "It seems a great wonder how English, that is the birth-tongue of Englishmen and their own language and tongue, is so diverse of sound in this island."



But man is always eager for some new thing, whether it be the latest novel or the latest breakfast food. To feed this rapacity for reform in our language the Spectator would turn from phonetic spelling to the more urgent need of improved pronunciation, crying out like good master Holofernes against "such rackers of orthography, as to speak dout, fine, when he should say doubt; det, when he should pronounce debt—d, e, b, t, not d, e, t; he clepeth a calf, cauf; half, hauf; neighbour vocatur, nebour; neigh abbreviated, ne. This is abhominable—which he would call abominable." For more modern instances of this "racking of orthogra-

phy" the Spectator turns to Mr. Lowell's Yankee version of the opening lines of "Richard III.:"

Neow is the winta uv eour discontent
Med glorious summa by this sun o' Yock,
An' all the cleouds thet leowered upun eour
heouse

In the deep buzzum o' the oshin buried.

Instead of throwing away consonants that show a word's parentage, the Spectator, like Sir Nathaniel, advocates their pronunciation. The Spectator tries to do this with the word "folk," and he feels sure that with the moral support of his brethren he could return to his early pronunciation of "Cholmondeley." Such an effort is more healthful for the language than the clipping process, just as "morning" with its r and g intact is superior to "mawnin," and with the continual flux in pronunciation will, in the end, cause less trouble. It is but treating natives as we treat foreigners; we speak of "Anglicizing" such words as "reveille" and "valet" when we show, by our pronunciation, of what letters they are made. If we carry out the theory of phonetic spelling in future, naturalized words will be disguised beyond recognition.



And yet the Spectator is not without sympathy for those who halt between two opinions when writing of Britain or of the Britons. He sometimes sighs for the good old times when orthography was optional, and man was not slave to that "harmless drudge," the lexicographer, but was a law unto himself; those halcyon days when all were "born spellers," when i and y bore each other's burdens, when in a union of negatives there was strength, and when "who" could be used as objective with impunity. At such times the Spectator feels like the little girl who said to her mother, "Please let Mary and I go to the store for some candy." "You should say Mary and me, my dear," answered the mother, and let them go. When they returned, the little girl called out, "Mary and me are back again, mamma." "You should say Mary and I, my dear." "Well, I don't see why it's Mary and me to go to the store and Mary and I to come back."

The Democratic Convention

By Francis E. Leupp

Special Correspondent for The Outlook

HERE is a summary of the accomplishments of the late National Convention at St. Louis in behalf of the Democratic party.

The nomination of Alton B. Parker for President has a double significance, but it is of far less importance as a personal victory for the candidate than as the instrument chosen for reducing William J. Bryan from a National to a factional leadership, and thus loosing his grip upon the great organization which he had hopelessly misdirected. Bryan, who for seven years had enjoyed such autocratic rule as to have lost the art of submitting to the authority of others, traveled to St. Louis with two purposes in view: first, to prevent the nomination of Parker; and, second, to procure a reaffirmation of the Democratic National platforms of 1896 and 1900.

Neither effort was successful. The minds of the other leaders were made up before the gathering of the clans. They had seen their party led to defeat through two hard-fought campaigns, and they resolved to prevent a recurrence of the disaster, at least by reason of yielding further to the counsels of Bryan. But the party at large was under a spell which it would take heroic measures to break. Bryan came unconsciously to their aid in making William R. Hearst his first choice among Parker's rivals. The universal dread of Hearst's success, as long as it appeared a possibility, had the effect of consolidating all the elements in the party opposed to this one man and his methods; and albeit these elements scattered their support somewhat over the field, the largest single volume of it crystallized about Parker, as a man at once clean, able, and conservative, even if not qualified to arouse the enthusiasm of a crowd.

Another factor of much value in bringing about the obscurity of Bryanism

was the revival of Grover Cleveland's name for a possible Presidential candidacy. And this because it revealed both the strength and the weakness of the threatened Cleveland movement. The sound was like a trumpet-call to thousands of Democrats who had become apathetic or wandered over into the fringe of the hostile camp, and who were thrilled by the thought that they might have a chance to follow their adored leader once more into battle. On the other hand, the suggestion of his renomination gave the ex-President an opportunity to indorse Parker's claims, and to set at rest forever the perennial rumor that he was himself preparing to storm the White House. The reinspired members of the Old Guard accepted Parker because Cleveland had commended him to them. The anti-Cleveland conservatives had meanwhile accepted him as the Democrat under whom they could best resist the dreaded third-term movement on the one hand and the Hearst terror on the other.

How times have changed was shown by two or three occurrences which would otherwise have passed almost unnoticed. On Thursday morning a Bryanite orator, pleading a cause which excited his eloquence till it ran away with his common sense, included in his comments an attack upon the Supreme Court of the United States. He was interrupted by hisses from all over the hall. Yet only eight years ago the clause in the Chicago platform which assailed the judiciary was received with tumultuous applause.

On the same day last week Mr. Bryan himself faced the Convention with a speech, about a half-hour long, in the controversy over the credentials of the Illinois delegates. He was listened to throughout in respectful silence, broken only by occasional indications of approval from the galleries and from a

small group on the floor. It was an excellent speech, delivered in its author's characteristic style, which has lost naught of its charm. Moreover, it was convincing to the unprejudiced mind, and under normal conditions the man who made such a speech would swing his hearers with him. But the roll-call ended all that. The delegates were confronted with the question whether they would vote as most of them believed, or proceed to the work they had come there to do. It was a clear issue between right and wrong on the one part, and expediency or in expediency on the other. If they voted on conscientious grounds, they would be voting to sustain the cause Bryan had championed, and incidentally Bryan himself. The alternative was not to be considered: delegation after delegation voted to validate the credentials of men who were obviously not entitled to them, in order to make Bryan's fall more complete.

Indeed, I strongly suspect that Bryan elected to interfere in the Illinois quarrels for tactical rather than sentimental reasons. He had been holding forth the idea that he could control the votes of more than one-third of the delegates, and could thus defeat Parker's nomination; and his success with the Illinois contest would be accepted as a test of his strength. If he could manage to carry with him even four hundred of the possible thousand votes in the Convention, in support of a cause inherently righteous, not a few of the weak-kneed delegates, ignoring the moral issues involved, would see in his victory a sign that his professions were not ill based, and they would come out against Parker on the principle of rats deserting a sinking ship.

The effort was a failure. The count of votes after the roll-call showed that he could not muster a retinue of three hundred votes, even with the great advantage of having right on his side. This was the plainest possible proof of his loss of prestige in the party which had twice tendered him the highest honor in its gift.

But let it not be inferred that the end of Bryan's dominance means the end of Bryan. Far from it. Nobody in that

Convention had a stancher following, sticking to him in adversity as well as in prosperity, and for worship of himself alone. Truth compels me to add that nobody in the Convention knew better how to use theatrical arts so as to magnify this sturdy devotion to many times its real importance. At Friday night's session, when the clerk was calling the roll of States for nominating speeches, Nebraska announced that it had given way to Wisconsin; and a delegate from the latter State advanced to the platform and presented Edward C. Wall, of Milwaukee, as a candidate for the Presidency. This was regarded by many of the inexperienced spectators as an act of uncommon generosity on Bryan's part, as his sympathies were believed to lie in another candidacy.

But mark! Nebraska stands well up the alphabetic list of States; Wisconsin practically at the bottom. The surrender of Nebraska's place to Wisconsin gave Nebraska the right to Wisconsin's place in turn. For dramatic effect, an orator of Bryan's mettle would vastly rather have the last word than the first, and the middle is deadly. And the use Bryan made of his privilege was to make a speech which began as a rather pathetic review of his own career; continued as a suggestion that, though others might have unworthily deserted him in a campaign emergency, he should not himself play the turncoat, no matter how serious his provocation; and ended with a plea for the nomination of Senator Cockrell.

Now, Cockrell is a man whom every one esteems. Political friends and foes, men and women who knew him as neighbors, and even the strangers within Missouri's gates who knew him only by reputation, were glad to pay him the compliment of a cheer, and in a moment the whole audience was on its feet, following huzza with huzza, waving hats and handkerchiefs and little flags. It was a home demonstration in honor of a leading citizen toward whom all felt a hearty good will, and in the Southwest such an expression of feeling is usually noisy and long continued. But the perspective effect of the scene was undoubtedly misleading; and on every side could

be heard expressions like, "What a tribute to Bryan! Is this the man they call politically dead?"

The triumph of sanity over hysteria, and the restoration of majority rule, though separately classified at the beginning of this article, are really one. For eight years the Democratic party has been governed, not by a majority of its components, but by a minority who were enslaved while in a hypnotic trance, and whom the non-enthralled majority believed to hold the balance of power in American politics. Every one who was present at the Chicago Convention of 1896, and who retained his senses during the orgy of enthusiasm which followed Bryan's cross-of-gold speech, will agree with me that that incident was out of the normal order of nature.

The undetachable Bryan faction never constituted a majority of the Democratic party; it could hardly be said to represent a formidable minority. Its dominance as a partisan force was obtained, as we have seen, through a coincidence of extraordinary conditions, and it kept it because the majority, having once been led astray, was too proud to find its way back across a bridge of apologies. This year, however, a more reasonable spirit has prevailed. The majority has wearied of an indefinite monotony of defeat, has pocketed its vanity, and has resolved to rehabilitate the party, put it upon a footing of equality with its most eminent competitor, and take and keep hereafter the authority which belongs to it.

Comparisons between the St. Louis Convention and its Republican predecessor at Chicago are inevitable. A great deal was said at the Republican Convention about the cut-and-dried programme prepared for it in advance, and the fidelity of the delegates to the performance of what was expected of them. As much might be said of the prearrangement of affairs among the Democratic leaders at St. Louis. The difference of outcome at the two Conventions is due to an essential difference between the two parties. The Republicans are an army full panoplied, accustomed to forceful generalship, and quite amenable to discipline. The Democrats,

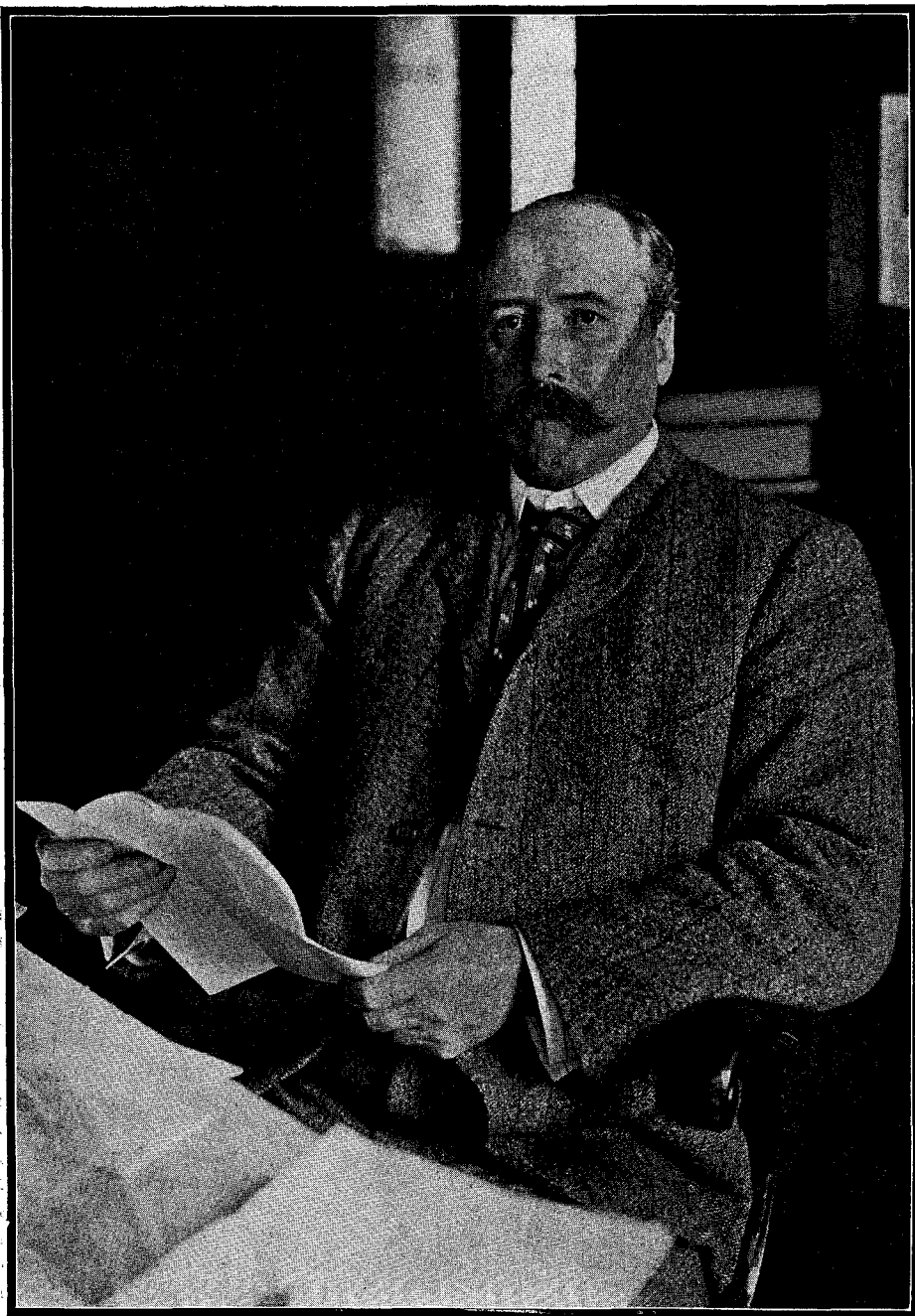
on the contrary, have never, as an organization, been easy of control, and, in the leaderless condition in which the party has dragged through so many years, even its theoretical respect for authority has become in a manner atrophied by disuse.

Every Democrat of any prominence who came to St. Louis to attend the Convention wished to have something to say about what should be done there; and from this multitude of counsels was distilled whatever measure of wisdom finally appeared in the proceedings. The choice that would be made for the Presidency, for instance, was known as early as the night of the Fourth of July, when Pennsylvania decided to come in and join New York in support of Judge Parker. With such an accession to an already large nucleus, and in view of the attractive power of numbers in a situation of this sort, the result could remain no longer in doubt. All that was left to be settled after that was the Vice-Presidency and the platform.

The platform is not, in fact, the brief, pithy, bold affair which many people looked for. It was distinctly disappointing to a large audience gathered to applaud it. It is a fabric of compromises. Nearly every clause in it has a history which may be read between the lines. As originally drafted for submission to the Committee on Resolutions by John Sharp Williams, it contained a financial plank which recognized the retirement of the money issue from our politics, and attributed this to the act of God in multiplying our gold resources. The statement was worded as follows:

The discoveries of gold within the last few years, and the great increased production thereof, adding \$2,000,000,000 to the world's supply, of which \$700,000,000 falls to the share of the United States, have contributed to the maintenance of a money standard of values no longer open to question, removing that issue from the field of political contention.

When ex-Senator Hill, who was chief strategist for the Parker contingent, looked over the plank, he declared that he did not consider it strong enough, and at his instance a new and shorter one was framed, which acknowl-



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ALTON B. PARKER
Democratic Candidate for the Presidency

edged in terms the supremacy of the gold standard. About the same time an income-tax plank was framed. Whether this was before or after Mr. Hill had put his gold plank into shape I cannot say positively; but on this question of priority may hinge the larger question whether Mr. Hill put forward his gold plank for the purpose of furnishing the foundation for a compromise whereby both clauses should be excluded, or the author of the income-tax plank threw it in for the purpose of trading with Hill to get the gold plank out.

However this may have been, the two features disappeared simultaneously. Mr. Hill was not fortunate, however, in the incidentals to the trade, for it resulted finally in the platform's having no money plank at all.

Judge Parker's instantaneous demand by telegraph message that the Convention should be apprised of his belief that the gold standard had come to stay, and the Convention's answer that the money question was no longer a political issue, accomplished precisely what the proposed gold plank would have done, but in a more marked and forcible manner. And the overwhelming majority by which the Convention ratified this bit of correspondence only exposed the weakness of Bryan's hold beyond the limits of his little group of followers. The telegram and the resolution answering it are important political documents. The first reads as follows:

I regard the gold standard as firmly and irrevocably established, and shall act accordingly if the action of the Convention to-day shall be ratified by the people.

As the platform is silent on the subject, my view should be made known to the Convention, and if it is proved to be unsatisfactory to the majority, I request you to decline the nomination for me at once, so that another may be nominated before adjournment.

ALTON B. PARKER.

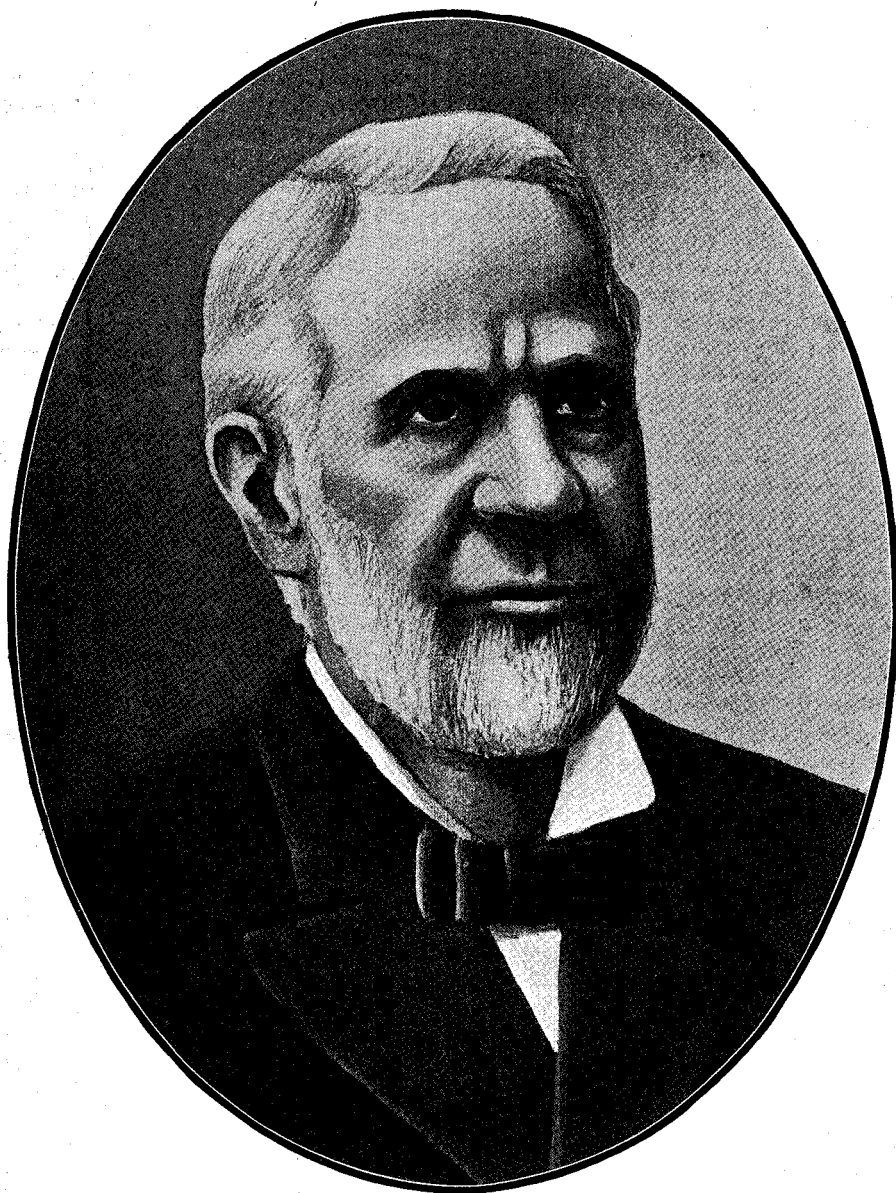
The resolution, passed by a vote of 774 to 88, directed the following reply to be sent:

The platform adopted by this Convention is silent on the question of the monetary standard because it is not regarded by us as a possible issue in this campaign, and only campaign issues were mentioned in the platform. Therefore there is nothing in the views expressed by you in the telegram just received which would preclude a man entertaining them from accepting a nomination on said platform.

The tariff plank will be regarded by the revisionists as hardly, if any, more satisfactory than the Republican plank. The parties merely approach the subject from two sides. The Republicans deprecate any interference with the protective schedules unless demanded by trade and industrial conditions; the Democrats call for revision, but are careful to notify every one concerned that they are not going to do anything to joggle existing conditions out of place.

The Republicans threw out a challenge in their negro plank which the Democrats have not taken up in the sensational way that was expected of them. Tactically, they have shown a superior shrewdness in handling this business. They knew, as the framers of the Republican plank knew, that all discussion of projects for reducing the representation of the Southern States to Congress, so as to conform the system to the order of things since most of these States disfranchised their negroes, must be purely academic as long as the constitution of the United States Senate remains what it now is, since no bill to reduce Southern representation can pass the upper house any more than a "force bill" could. So the St. Louis Convention simply deplored any disposition to reopen the race question, and let the matter go at that.

The Democrats take themselves, as a rule, so much more seriously than the Republicans that it is hardly wonderful to find in the St. Louis Convention fewer sources of humor than in the Chicago Convention. Perhaps the most comical incident at St. Louis was one neither intended nor suspected to be funny by the persons concerned. I refer to the alarm taken by the police captain in charge of the hall when the first uproarious demonstration occurred, incited by the mention of the name of Grover Cleveland in the opening address of the temporary chairman. This was on the first day, and the officer apparently had never before seen one of these outbursts. He made up his mind that a riot must be impending; and in a moment there entered a squad of police reserves in response to a hurlycall. They marched impressively into the hall, only to march



HENRY G. DAVIS

Democratic Candidate for the Vice-Presidency

out again when the origin of the disturbance and its wholly innocuous purpose were made plain.

The nomination of Henry G. Davis for Vice-President was dictated partly by the consideration that West Virginia belongs now among the doubtful States, and Mr. Davis's enormous acquaintance is calculated to make the ticket popular there. Another and perhaps equally strong argument was the assumed de-

sirability of doing something to please the old-school politicians and at the same time strengthen the ticket with the capitalistic element. Mr. Davis is eighty-one years old; is a mine operator, a railroad magnate, and a banker; has been a delegate to six National Conventions; he represented his party and his State in the United States Senate for twelve years, and declined a re-election in 1883.

Judge Parker's Personality: A Neighbor's Appreciation

By the Rev. J. G. van Slyke

WHEN, nearly twenty-eight years ago, I entered on the pastorate of the old "First Dutch," I found, nearly under the eaves of my church, a modest little law office, in front of which hung the sign, "Parker and Kenyon." Both the young men whom these names labeled sat before me Sunday after Sunday, and sent up in stimulation what I sought to return in sermon. One of them, now Judge Parker, survives to know how his generous Monday morning greetings braced and strengthened a young man who not infrequently felt that he could never preach again.

In the vibrations of such an interest I found a clue in choosing what to say and how to say it. He furnished me a type which interpreted to me a real as distinguished from an ideal audience. Out of the helpfulness thus distilled on me was inaugurated a friendship which has been moving on parallel lines through all these subsequent years.

The wholesome farm life in which both of us were reared drew us together. We rode about the beautiful country near Kingston, contemplating the purchase of adjacent places. But though our ways have since diverged, he still remains, at fifty, the fresh and full-pulsed farmer boy, while invested with all the symmetrical maturity which his rare career of advancement has yielded. While he still resided among us, he made it evident that he was a constructive force, not only by the way in which he dominated the political interests of his party, but by the homage of a universal confidence which intrusted to him the largest financial and social concerns.

The place which, a few years since, Judge Parker purchased, is a farm of about one hundred and forty acres, on the western bank of the Hudson, near the little village of Esopus, about eight miles south of Kingston. The name

"Rosemount" has been attached to it. The ample house stands directly on the edge of a steep, grassy bank reaching down to the river, and in the midst of a lawn which, with its noble trees, has something of the proportions of a park. From the veranda a far-extended view of the river is afforded, especially to the southward, toward Poughkeepsie. It would be difficult to conceive of a more idyllic home, guarded by the very genius of tranquillity. In his reconstruction of the place Judge Parker has excluded all features which suggest ostentation, and has embodied only his ideas of substantial comfort. In the interior his guests find a large dining-room, a broad hall which serves as a family or sitting room, and a spacious library. Here, apart from his court in Albany, most of Judge Parker's real work is done.

Everything here betrays the born lawyer, and indicates indefatigable industry. But his ruling passion is farming. It is that which yields him his most unflinching gratifications.

"Come out with me, Dominie," he said one day, "and see my Polands." Strolling onward into a pasture where his cherished pigs were grazing, he pointed out in a corner of the lot a large sow, to which he called, "Mammy! Mammy!" Instantly she started on a run, but, guided rather by his voice than by her eyes, which were covered by her large ears, she missed her way. But, correcting herself as he continued to call, she came before us and looked up, with low gruntings, and seemed to express her pleasure by the workings of her nose. Scratching her back with his cane, she obeyed his spell over her and lay down to sleep. The Judge impressed on me the intelligence of pigs, and declared that they surpassed all other domestic animals. He also insisted, contrary to the prevailing notion, on their instinctive preference for cleanli-

ness. Consistently with this view, he has provided for them the most favorable appointments. With equal consideration he provides for his cows and his poultry, all of which have his careful inspection. Every sanitary appliance and all the appointments of modern convenience are included in his manifold farm buildings, none of which stand for show, but have reference to the most practical results. He is endeavoring to establish the proposition that a farm may be at least self-supporting, and that it should justify itself.

The district of country about Esopus is largely devoted to fruit. It especially excels in peaches and grapes. New varieties are being developed which vastly surpass Southern or California products. Both his vineyards and his peach orchards, not to speak of his apples, witness to Judge Parker's skill as a fruit-grower. From his cold-storage he produced, on July 4, apples as perfect as when picked in last October.

I am prompted to speak of these agricultural interests of Judge Parker, because they help form a portraiture of the actual man, as some of us know him at home. A life which finds its leisure preoccupied by such interests is to that extent diverted from frivolous pleasure-seeking, and committed to a wholesome simplicity. His fondness for country life is ingrained. It began in Cortland County, where his grandfather, as a pioneer from Massachusetts, cut down the first forest tree and where Judge Parker found his boyhood home. The indefinable charm of a rural landscape appeals to something in his blood; and while his neighbor, John Burroughs, has precipitated the feeling in books, it none the less exists unexpressed in Judge Parker also.

Almost his entire career identifies him with Ulster County. In teaching school in the town of Accord, he formed the acquaintance of a daughter of one of the old Knickerbocker families, whom he married. His early life in Kingston came under the molding hands of the Hon. Augustus Schoonmaker and other men of high standing in society and at the bar, who left their stamp upon him. They impressed on his mind a standard

of honor from which he has never been diverted. With all the astuteness of a successful political manager, no word has ever been spoken which might impeach his integrity. With all his zeal for party ends, we could not think of him as unfair or unjust. He is neither sly nor sinister, but straightforward and transparent. He has a large endowment of good, hard common sense, which "sees things whole." He is not liable to be imposed on by shams and illusions. His native sagacity appraises men and things at their true values. He never poses, or plots to win his way by any of that artfulness which seeks to "fool the people." His genuineness is self-attesting.

And all this, it may be seen, is due to a certain symmetry about him, an even balance of his mental and moral elements. He is as careful to listen to the voice of conscience or the imperative of duty as to the conclusions of his intelligence. And once his mind is made up regarding any course he ought to pursue, he will "stand four-square to all the winds that blow." His physical virility is the exponent of his full-statured manliness. And when to this are added urbanity and the most unflinching courtesy, we supply the rare type of a public man. In all the familiarity of private life or social intercourse he has invariably furnished his fellow-townsmen a sample of a clean, fair-minded, generous-hearted man.

On the platform Judge Parker is capable of effective public speech; but he is not a "spellbinder." The hypnotizing power of the orator or the rhetorician is in his case apparently preoccupied by directness; he appeals simply to one's sense of the truth of things, and leaves on the mind an impression of sanity which is not liable to be distorted by any refracting influence in our modern atmosphere. He does not court popularity, but his obviousness, his personal affability, and his democratic instincts command it.

One of Judge Parker's personal habits is a bath at an early morning hour in the river. He plunges directly from the dock before his house, displaying all the expertness of a lusty swimmer. He

magnifies cold water as a condition of sound health, and his masculine vigor justifies his conviction. There is not a soft or flabby muscle about him. He seems inaccessible even to fatigue. The strain of long hours of absorbing work does not exhaust him. In the resiliency of his nervous system he displays in the evening the freshness of the morning. In brief, he is a rarely strong man, worthy to be taken as a specimen of an American at his best. And if his regular river bath may be allowed to suggest the idea, his strength is matched by his cleanness.

Following the Judge's morning plunge in the Hudson comes his horseback ride for an hour. His horse is a superb specimen, standing seventeen hands high. To both horse and rider it is a

crowded hour of glorious life. By sympathetic interchange, the vital tides of one are interfused in the other.

This form of exercise, which he never omits, winter or summer, rain or shine, was enjoined on Judge Parker as a foil to nervous exhaustion and as a secret of perennial health. The assurances of his old German friend who counseled it have been vindicated in the most conclusive way. The Judge now tips the scales at two hundred pounds; he regards it as scarcely possible that he should "catch cold," and is sanguine enough to feel that he is quite beyond the reach of illness. He would have me give his horse the credit of having borne him to this high plane of physical vigor.

Kingston, New York.

Silent Voices

By Liska Stillman

When early Spring the late snows melt,
The breath of tenderness hast felt?
And in the warmth of April ground
Hast wealth of salutation found?

In upward curve of hillside slope
Hast felt the tingling of a hope?
And where the valley sleeps below,
The presence of a dream didst know?

Within the summer wind's patrol
Didst hear the music of the soul?
And when the wind bends low the bough,
Didst hearken to unbroken vow?

Where dying sound of echo dies,
Didst hear the voice of love arise?
In murmur of a driving rain
Didst know that it might rise again?

Didst know where deepest shadows tread
A halo from above is shed?
And when the sun falls on a grave,
Canst look above to heaven's nave?

Didst know from where the sunbeams start
The veil is drawn from nature's heart?
And where the midnight star drops light,
Canst see a spirit-gaze in sight?

In isolation of a cloud
Didst hear the call of worship loud?
Didst know where mountain summits lift
Eternity is turned adrift?

Japan's Price for Peace

By George Lynch

The author of this article is one of the best-known English war correspondents and has also written valuable books of travel and exploration. He represented the London "Daily Chronicle" in the Spanish-American War, and the "Illustrated London News" in the Boer War—in which he had the experience of being wounded and of being captured by the Boers and held prisoner for some time in Pretoria. Mr. Lynch was also an English newspaper correspondent in the Boxer campaign, and has traveled extensively over China and Japan. The facts that the following article is based in part on interviews with noted Japanese statesmen, and that it comes to us with the stamp of the Japanese Headquarters Censorship Bureau, and has therefore been passed officially as unobjectionable, give it a peculiar interest.—THE EDITORS.

IT may appear premature at this moment to speculate on what will be the end of the war, but I do not think it is premature to endeavor to direct public opinion towards the consideration of a position which will arise within a few months. I firmly believe that the Japanese will drive the Russians back to Harbin. I believe they will capture Port Arthur. I believe they will force the Russians completely to evacuate Manchuria. If they succeed in doing this, they will only then have succeeded in forcing Russia to do what she promised to do by the 8th of last October. That promise was given as solemnly and deliberately as it was possible. Its non-fulfillment, after a long period of prevarication, excuses, and subterfuges, was openly admitted. It was one of the most flagrant and gigantic breaches of a nation's faith and word that modern history can show. The promise was made not to Japan alone, but to all the Powers, yet that one little nation alone and single-handed will enforce its fulfillment.

If, after a fight won with clean-handed honor by sea and land, Japan succeeds in doing this, then I think that the other Powers owe her something for the accomplishment of such a gigantic task. It is due to the honor and sense of justice and right of the peoples of the entire civilized world to see her through.

As to what character the intervention should take or what degree of pressure should be brought to bear is not for me to suggest. Some people ridicule the idea of armed intervention; personally I think that the intervention should be

armed—and armed to the teeth, in the cause of international good faith.

I have gone to no little trouble to collect the opinions of representative men as to the question of what terms would be acceptable to Japan and would satisfy the Japanese in case of their bringing the war to that point which I have had the hardiness to anticipate. I have interviewed not a few of the sense-carriers of the nation, and found that there was quite a strange unanimity of opinion regarding what these terms should be. Politicians, military men, bankers, and others were among those with whom I discussed this matter. For obvious reasons, many of them requested me not to quote them, but among those who had no such objection were Count Okuma, Mr. Sonoda, of the Fifteenth National Bank, Count Soyeshima, one of the members of the great Mitsui firm, and others.

The first question I put to them was whether they desired to retain Port Arthur or not. It appeared to me that if they so wished they had every right to retain it. That it was wrongly taken from them after the Chinese War, I think will be admitted. It might now be considered as the legitimate spoils of two wars. There was, however, a remarkable unanimity of opinion that now they did not want to keep Port Arthur, and would be prepared to return it to China. There was a similar unanimity of opinion that they should get back the islands of the Saghalien Archipelago. In answer to the question whether, in consideration of Manchuria being returned by force of Japanese arms to China, they

looked for some compensation from China on that score, the answer was in the negative from the majority of the people I spoke to, while some held that some railway and mining concessions should be given to the Japanese, more particularly in that part of China immediately opposite Formosa. The fourth question that I put was, What will become of the Manchurian railway? There appeared to be a consensus of opinion that Japan would not be prepared to take up the financial burden of it, but that it might be run under a joint ownership of internationally supplied capital. On the subject of their ideas as to indemnity from Russia there was naturally considerable divergence of opinion, as the cost of the war to Japan is as yet unknown, and this will, of course, depend on its duration as well as on many other things. Their main idea, however, appeared to be that if they succeeded in capturing Vladivostok they should hold

it until an adequate indemnity was paid by Russia, and then return it to her, thus giving her a port on the Pacific. Among minor points, they suggested that Russia should give up the island of Kommandorski, with its valuable seal fishery, and grant to Japan fishing rights along the northern coast.

If the Japanese continue to be successful, and if they further succeed to the point I have indicated, the terms that they look to making appear to me by no means unreasonable. The Powers owe a debt of reparation to Japan for making her give up Port Arthur, and the blood of every Japanese that will be spilt upon its slopes lies at their doors. The time for atonement will then have come. It will be put to the conscience of the civilized Powers whether that atonement shall be made, and whether Russia shall be compelled by whatever force or pressure is necessary to accept these terms as the price of peace.

By the Playground

By Mary White Ovington

Which of the summer sounds
Is sweetest to tired hearts?—
The low, unwearying hum
Of the bee in the clover bed?
The hymn of the thrush at dusk?
Robins that call in the rain?
Cool waves slipping away
From the boat as she sails through the sea?
Whisper of wind in the wheat?
Or, from the fresh-smelling field
When the heaven is thick with her stars,
The cricket's comforting chirp
Telling of welcome and home?

Hot winds bearing the noise
Of a city's traffic and cries,
And from the little square
The voices of children in song.
Hundreds of children at play,
Circling and singing their glee;
Glad in the gift of to-day,
The sunshine and warmth of the earth,
The joy of youth but begun!
Chorus of mirth and good will,
Childhood's treble of hope—
This is the summer sound
The sweetest the tired heart knows.

THE MOUNTAINS'

BY STEWART EDWARD WHITE

AUTHOR OF "THE FOREST," "THE BLAZED TRAIL," "THE SILENT PLACES," ETC.

X.—On Seeing Deer

ONCE I happened to be sitting out a dance with a tactful young girl of tender disposition who thought she should adapt her conversation to the one with whom she happened to be talking. Therefore she asked questions concerning out-of-doors. She knew nothing whatever about it, but she gave a very good imitation of one interested. For some occult reason, people never seem to expect me to own evening clothes, or to know how to dance, or to be able to talk about anything civilized; in fact, most of them appear disappointed that I do not pull off a war-jig in the middle of the drawing-room.

This young girl selected deer as her topic. She mentioned liquid eyes, beautiful form, slender ears; she said "cute," and "darlings," and "perfect dears." Then she shuddered prettily.

"And I don't see how you can ever bear to shoot them, Mr. White," she concluded.

"You quarter the onions and slice them very thin," said I, dreamily. "Then you take a little bacon fat you had left over from the flapjacks and put it in the frying-pan. The frying-pan should be very hot. While the onions are frying, you must keep turning them over with a fork. It's rather difficult to get them all browned without burning some. I should broil the meat. A broiler is handy, but two willows, peeled and charred a little so the willow taste won't penetrate the meat, will do. Have the steak fairly thick. Pepper and salt it thoroughly. Sear it well at first in order to keep the juices in; then cook rather slowly. When it is done, put it on a hot plate and pour the browned onions, bacon fat and all, over it."

"What *are* you talking about?" she interrupted.

"I'm telling you why I can bear to shoot deer," said I.

"But I don't see—" said she.

"Don't you?" said I. "Well; suppose you've been climbing a mountain late in the afternoon when the sun is on the other side of it. It is a mountain of big boulders, loose little stones, thorny bushes. The slightest misstep would send pebbles rattling, brush rustling; but you have gone all the way without making that misstep. This is quite a feat. It means that you've known all about every footstep you've taken. That would be business enough for most people, wouldn't it? But in addition you've managed to see *everything* on that side of the mountain—especially patches of brown. You've seen lots of patches of brown, and you've examined each one of them. Besides that, you've heard lots of little rustlings, and you've identified each one of them. To do all these things well keys your nerves to a high tension, doesn't it? And then near the top you look up from your last noiseless step to see in the brush a very dim patch of brown. If you hadn't been looking so hard, you surely wouldn't have made it out. Perhaps, if you're not humble-minded, you may reflect that most people wouldn't have seen it at all. You whistle once sharply. The patch of brown defines itself. Your heart gives one big jump. You know that you have but the briefest moment, the tiniest fraction of time, to hold the white bead of your rifle motionless and to press the trigger. It has to be done *very* steadily, at that distance—and you out of breath, with your nerves keyed high in the tension of such caution."

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"Now what are you talking about?" she broke in helplessly.

"Oh, didn't I mention it?" I asked, surprised. "I was telling you why I could bear to shoot deer."

"Yes, but—" she began.

"Of course not," I reassured her. "After all, it's very simple. The reason I can bear to kill deer is because, to kill deer, you must accomplish a skillful elimination of the obvious."

My young lady was evidently afraid of being considered stupid; and also convinced of her inability to understand what I was driving at. So she temporized in the manner of society.

"I see," she said, with an air of complete enlightenment.

Now of course she did not see. Nobody could see the force of that last remark without the grace of further explanation; and yet in the elimination of the obvious rests the whole secret of seeing deer in the woods.

In traveling the trail you will notice two things: that a tenderfoot will habitually contemplate the horn of his saddle or the trail a few yards ahead of his horse's nose, with occasionally a look about at the landscape; and the old-timer will be constantly searching the prospect with keen, understanding eyes. Now in the occasional glances the tenderfoot takes, his perceptions have room for just so many impressions. When the number is filled out, he sees nothing more. Naturally, the obvious features of the landscape supply the basis for these impressions. He sees the configuration of the mountains, the nature of their covering, the course of their ravines, first of all. Then, if he looks more closely, there catches his eye an odd-shaped rock, a burned black stub, a flowering bush, or some such matter. Anything less striking in its appeal to the attention actually has not room for its recognition. In other words, supposing that a man has the natural ability to receive a visual impressions, the tenderfoot fills out his full capacity with the striking features of his surroundings. To be able to see anything more obscure in form or color, he must naturally put aside from his attention some one or another of these obvious features. He

can, for example, look for a particular kind of flower on a side hill only by refusing to see other kinds.

If this is plain, then, go one step further in the logic of that reasoning. Put yourself in the mental attitude of a man looking for deer. His eye sweeps rapidly over a side hill; so rapidly that you cannot understand how he can have gathered the main features of that hill, let alone concentrate and refine his attention to the seeing of an animal under a bush. As a matter of fact, he pays no attention to the main features. He has trained his eye, not so much to see things, as to leave things out. The odd-shaped rock, the charred stub, the bright flowering bush, do not exist for him. His eye passes over them as unseeing as yours over the patch of brown or gray that represents his quarry. His attention stops on the unusual, just as does yours; only in his case the unusual is not the obvious. He has succeeded by long training in eliminating that. Therefore he sees deer where you do not. As soon as you can forget the naturally obvious and construct an artificially obvious, then you too will see deer.

These animals are strangely invisible to the untrained eye even when they are standing "in plain sight." You can look straight at them and not see them at all. Then some old woodsman lets you sight over his finger exactly to the spot. At once the figure of the deer fairly leaps into vision. I know of no more perfect example of the instantaneous than this. You are filled with astonishment that you could for a moment have avoided seeing it. And yet next time you will in all probability repeat just this "puzzle picture" experience.

The Tenderfoot tried for six weeks before he caught sight of one. He wanted to very much. Time and again one or the other of us would hiss back, "See the deer! over there by the yellow bush!" but before he could bring the deliberation of his scrutiny to the point of identification, the deer would be gone. Once a fawn jumped fairly within ten feet of the pack-horses and went bounding away through the bushes, and that

fawn he could not help seeing. We tried conscientiously enough to get him a shot; but the Tenderfoot was unable to move through the brush less majestically than a Pullman car, so we had ended by becoming apathetic on the subject.

Finally, while descending a very abrupt mountain-side, I made out a buck lying down perhaps three hundred feet directly below us. The buck was not looking our way, so I had time to call the Tenderfoot. He came. With difficulty and by using my rifle-barrel as a pointer I managed to show him the animal. Immediately he began to pant as though at the finish of a mile race, and his rifle, when he leveled it, covered a good half acre of ground. This would never do.

"Hold on!" I interrupted, sharply.

He lowered his weapon to stare at me wild-eyed.

"What is it?" he gasped.

"Stop a minute!" I commanded. "Now take three deep breaths."

He did so.

"Now shoot," I advised, "and aim at his knees."

The deer was now on his feet, and facing us, so the Tenderfoot had the entire length of the animal to allow for lineal variation. He fired. The deer dropped. The Tenderfoot thrust his hat over one eye, rested hand on hip in a manner cocky to behold.

"Simply slaughter!" he proffered, with lofty scorn.

We descended. The bullet had broken the deer's back—about six inches from the tail. The Tenderfoot had over-shot by at least three feet.

You will see many deer thus from the trail—in fact, we kept up our meat supply from the saddle, as one might say—but to enjoy the fine savor of seeing deer you should start out definitely with that object in view. Thus you have opportunity for the display of a certain finer woodcraft. You must know where the objects of your search are likely to be found, and that depends on the time of year, the time of day, their age, their sex, a hundred little things. When the bucks carry antlers in the velvet, they frequent the inaccessibilities of the high-

est rocky peaks, so their tender horns may not be torn in the brush, but nevertheless so that the advantage of a lofty viewpoint may compensate for the loss of cover. Later you will find them in the open slopes of a lower altitude, fully exposed to the sun, that there the heat may harden the antlers. Later still, the heads in fine condition and tough to withstand scratches, they plunge into the dense thickets. But in the meantime the fertile does have sought a lower country, with patches of small brush interspersed with open passages. There they can feed with their fawns, completely concealed, but able, by merely raising the head, to survey the entire landscape for the threatening of danger. The barren does, on the other hand, you will find through the timber and brush, for they are careless of all responsibilities either to offspring or headgear. These are but a few of the considerations you will take into account, a very few of the many which lend the deer countries strange thrills of delight over new knowledge gained, over crafty expedients invented or well utilized, over the satisfactory matching of your reason, your instinct, your subtlety and skill against the reason, instinct, subtlety, and skill of one of the wariest of large wild animals.

Perversely enough, the times when you did *not* see deer are more apt to remain vivid in your memory than the times when you did. I can still see distinctly sundry wide jump-marks where the animal I was tracking had evidently caught sight of me, and lit out before I came up to him. Equally, sundry little thin disappearing clouds of dust; cracklings of brush, growing ever more distant; the tops of bushes waving to the steady passage of something remaining persistently concealed—these are the chief ingredients, often repeated, which make up deer-stalking memory. When I think of seeing deer, these things automatically rise.

A few of the deer actually seen do, however, stand out clearly from the many. When I was a very small boy possessed of a 32-20 rifle and large ambitions, I followed the advantage my father's footsteps made me in the deep

snow of an unused logging-road. His attention was focused on some very interesting fresh tracks. I, being a small boy, cared not at all for tracks, and so saw a big doe emerge from the bushes not ten yards away, lope leisurely across the road, and disappear, wagging earnestly her tail. When I had recovered my breath, I vehemently demanded the sense of fooling with tracks when there were real live deer to be had. My father examined me.

"Well, why didn't you shoot her?" he inquired, dryly.

I hadn't thought of that.

In the spring of 1900 I was at the head

of the Piant River waiting for the log-drive to start. One morning, happening to walk over a slashing of many years before in which had grown a strong thicket of white popples, I jumped a band of nine deer. I shall never forget the bewildering impression made by the glancing, dodging, bouncing white of those nine snowy tails and rumps.

But most wonderful of all was a great buck, of I should be afraid to say how many points, that stood silhouetted on the extreme end of a ridge high above our camp. The time was just after twilight, and as we watched, the sky lightened behind him in prophecy of the moon.

Social Life and the Christian Ministry

By Josiah Strong, D.D.

President of the American Institute of Social Service

At the second annual Conference to which the students of Union Theological Seminary, New York, invited students from several colleges for the purpose of considering the work of the ministry, addresses on various aspects of the ministry were given by men chosen for their expert knowledge of these aspects. Interest in the function of the ministry is not, however, confined to those who make it their profession; it extends to people generally both within and without the Church. This is due to the fact that what service a minister renders is largely determined by what people expect of him. It is, moreover, coming more and more to be recognized that the work of the ministry is in its broadest aspects the work of the whole Church. Dr. Strong's address, given at the Conference and here published in revised form, presents the work of the ministry in that aspect which most vitally concerns the community at large.—THE EDITORS.

SOME twelve or fifteen years ago I had an interview with one of the most prominent preachers of the city and of the Nation—a man whose point of view was the older, or individualistic; a man whose fame was in all the churches. You have doubtless been referred to his sermons, and have read them, as models of expository preaching. It was just after a vigorous but unsuccessful attempt had been made to redeem the city from the power of the corrupt and corrupting government which then ruled it—an effort led by the ministry, and especially by Dr. Parkhurst. The gentleman referred to had been conspicuously absent from these meetings held in the churches. He said to me: "I had nothing to do with it; I never turn aside from my proper work, which is the building of character."

Now, I shall not quarrel with his

definition of the proper work of the ministry, but he was uninformed as to the influences which mold character. Have the saloon, the brothel, the gambling hell, and the evils of the tenement no relations to character in this community? Character is always shaped, determined, by three things: heredity, environment, will. Heredity is all that the little child brings with him into life. Environment includes all the conditions, physical, moral, intellectual, social, into which he is born. Generally speaking, heredity and environment determine the action of the will, which is decisive in forming character. There are exceptions, doubtless. Dickens was very fond of bringing his fairest flowers out of roots grown in the mire of the slums, and no doubt there are such instances—characters that do not seem to be smirched by evil surroundings; but,

speaking broadly, and especially when we refer to the "submerged tenth," heredity and environment are decisive. Nothing is more uncertain than the individual life; but actuaries will tell you just how many will die out of a hundred thousand in a given time. So, though we make room for the free and independent action of the individual will, when we speak of the class whose home is in what we denominate "the slum," we may say that to all intents and purposes the action of the will is determined by heredity and environment. Here is a child born of drunkenness and lust, whose welcome into the world is a curse; whose lullabies are blasphemies; whose caresses are kicks; whose examples are vice and crime. Such a child, as Bishop South would say, "is not born but damned into the world." How much prospect is there that that child will live a life different from those of his parents and of the friends that surround him?

We are only beginning to appreciate the importance of environment, and especially environment as it modifies the effects of heredity. It is as impossible to change the heredity of any living being as it is to change the past. We may modify the heredity of unborn generations; but when we seek to deal with the men and women and children of to-day, heredity is a negligible fact in the problem. We must reach the will, or we must change the environment; or, better, we must reach the will through the environment.

Now, I say, we are only beginning to appreciate the significance of environment. In the town where I was reared there was an Irishman who came straight from the bog. He had the map of Ireland all over his face. You would have known, if you had met him on the street, that he was "Pat." He knew how to read, because he had read something of various kinds of coal. He had read of anthracite and bituminous coal, but I doubt if he had ever heard the words pronounced. He went one morning into the post-office and said, "Misther Seidel, I am goin' to buy me a coal shtove; an' phwat would you buy—anthracity or bituminous?" I relate

this incident simply to enable you to gauge "Pat's" intelligence. Now, that man had a son who, because he was born in a college town, got the idea of going to college. He was graduated at the head of his class, and is to-day a professor of Greek in an American college.

The hiatus between that father and son suggests a missing link, so enormous is the difference. If that boy had been born on the bogs of Ireland, he, too, would have been a bog-trotter like his ancestors. He was born in a new and stimulating environment, under radically different conditions, with a radically different result. There are Edward VII. and William II. The German Emperor had an English mother, but, notwithstanding that fact, he is German in his habits, in his ideas and ideals of life, and even in his personal appearance; he is a typical German because of a German environment. The English King had a German father, but he is English in his habits, in his ideas, in his ideals, and even in his personal appearance he is a typical Englishman, because reared in an English environment. As far as blood is concerned, the King is as German as the Emperor, and the Emperor as English as the King, but different environments have made them typical men of their respective countries.

I have a friend, an Episcopal rector, very much interested in social problems. He desired to study the tenement at first hand, and one summer went down to what is known as "Hell's Kitchen," one of the worst tenement sections in the city, and there leased a room or rooms. He slept there, and the first morning he awakened with a violent headache and with every nerve in his body crying out for strong drink. The second morning he woke with a sore throat. He began to question whereunto this might lead, and went back into the country to recover himself. A day or two of pure air restored him to a normal condition, and he returned to "Hell's Kitchen." The morning after the first night he awakened with a headache and with this appetite for drink, and the second morning again he

wakened with a sore throat. And again he returned to the country. To test the question whether it was a "post hoc" or a "propter hoc," he went back and forth a half-dozen times, and every time he slept in that place he wakened with a tremendous appetite for drink; and although a man of splendid physical life and established habits and character—and, as I told you, a Christian clergyman—he said to me, "It required all the power of will I possessed not to go into a saloon and call for a glass of whisky." Most men who sleep in the tenement-house have not his physique and his training and his fixed principles, and they probably go into a saloon and call for the glass of whisky.

Simply to address yourself to the will of the tenement-house dweller is superficial; you must change the atmosphere that he breathes.

A year or two ago a large manufacturing company in Cleveland decided to provide for their men a warm luncheon every noon. Four saloons had squatted around their works, and got their living off the company's men. I was told, pretty soon after the experiment was tried, that within a few weeks three of those saloons went out of business. Meeting a gentleman from Cleveland not long ago who was conversant with the facts, I referred to the statement and asked if it was true. He said: "Yes; three went out of business in a few weeks, and the fourth followed soon after."

The problem of nutrition and the problem of ventilation are back of the problem of intemperance. Do you who are Christian clergymen sustain relations to the problem of intemperance? Then you sustain relations to the problems of nutrition and of ventilation; for to imagine that you can deal with effects without touching causes is quackery.

Now, the Church heretofore, as a rule, has addressed itself simply to the will. Preaching has been aimed at the will. Generally speaking, the ministry—with rare exceptions, like Thomas Chalmers, who astonished the world with what he accomplished—has ignored environment, and all that that means in its influence upon character and life. But this is no

longer possible, even to the man who occupies the individualistic point of view, in the light of modern science, which teaches us that soul and body are marvelously interrelated, and that they act and react constantly upon each other. Grant, if you please, that your only object in life is to save individual souls; if you wish to be a successful soul-saver, you must recognize bodies. Not to do it is unscientific. It is to ignore one of the principal factors in your problem. And if this is true, much more true is it that the man who occupies the social or collective point of view must be thoroughly familiar with social conditions, in order to accomplish the proper work of the Christian ministry.

A while ago President Eliot, addressing the teachers of Connecticut, at New Haven, said: "During the past fifty years the world has been made over." That is true of the Western world. We might almost say of our own country as a Japanese lecturer said of his: "Nothing remains the same except the natural scenery." There is a new civilization; radically new conditions of life; in one word, a new environment. Doubtless we are all familiar with the fact that this social revolution has been caused by the great industrial revolution. When industry was individualistic, society, so far as it existed, was individualistic, life was individualistic, because power was individualistic. The man could take his muscles in which that power resided, and go apart five miles, or fifty miles, and do his work alone. But the coming of the steam-engine, the stationary steam-engine, de-individualized power, and centralized it; hence the necessity of gathering around the source of power, the organization of industry, and the division of labor, and all that that signifies in a long train of results. An obvious result of the division of labor is the fact that men have become interdependent. Men in the same shop are interdependent; all the great allied industries have become interdependent, so that we are now directly dependent upon thousands, and indirectly dependent upon millions, for almost every comfort. Under the old conditions life was individualistic; under these it is social or collective.

Under the old conditions relationships were few and simple; under the new they are many and complex. With the advances of science, with the marvelous increase of wealth, with improved conditions, men are gaining a new hope. They have ceased to place the golden age in the past, and now place it in the future. Men are beginning to think that ignorance and want and degradation need not always be the lot of a large proportion of humanity. They are recognizing the fact that there are only two steps to the industrial or economic millennium, and one of them has been taken. The problem of production has been solved. It is quite possible now to produce more of any great staple than the world can consume. Only the one step remains—solving the problem of distribution; and hence men have begun to entertain a new hope, a new social ideal. Moreover, as men are becoming conscious of these interrelations they are beginning to discover that mankind is a brotherhood; that our interests are fundamentally the same; that is, society is arriving at self-consciousness, and as we are gaining consciousness of a common social life, there is beginning to develop a social conscience, and we are raising a thousand questions touching these social relations; as, for instance, What are the rights and the duties of capital? What are the rights and duties of organized labor? What are the rights of unorganized labor as related to organized, and what are its duties?—questions which are fundamentally ethical, in order to the true solution of which we must have an educated social conscience.

The social teachings of Jesus Christ fit these modern conditions and solve the new problems of the new century. The burden of Jesus' message was the kingdom of God. His forerunner declared, "The kingdom of heaven is at hand," and the preaching of Jesus began with the same message: "Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." The subject of his first sermon, the Sermon on the Mount, was the kingdom of God, or the kingdom of heaven. When he sent out his seventy disciples, it was to preach the "Gospel of the kingdom." When he sent out the twelve,

it was to preach the "Gospel of the kingdom." When his disciples asked him to teach them to pray, the very first petition was, "Thy kingdom come." A large portion of his parables are devoted to elucidating the laws of the kingdom and the method of its growth. He said to his disciples that they were to preach this Gospel of the kingdom to all the nations; and we are told in the first chapter of the Acts that between Christ's resurrection and his ascension he discoursed with his disciples concerning "the things of the kingdom." Obviously, the kingdom of God was the beginning and the middle and the end of the message of Jesus. Is that true of the preaching of most men to-day? I have read sermons on the kingdom of God, but, so far as I recollect, I never heard one, except those that I preached myself. I venture to think you can find scores of preachers in this city who never preached a sermon on the kingdom of God in their lives. It was the supreme subject of Jesus's teaching. Obviously, then, to misunderstand the kingdom of God is to misunderstand the message of Jesus; it is to misunderstand his interpretation of life; it is to misunderstand the real character of Christianity and the mission of the Church. And Jesus' teaching of the kingdom of God has been misunderstood. It has been lost sight of; it has occupied a very, very small place in the thoughts and in the teachings of the ministry, while the Church has occupied a very large place. Jesus' mouth was full of the kingdom of God. He referred to the Church only twice. The present theological watchword, "Back to Christ!" has led to the rediscovery of the kingdom of God, and, if I mistake not, it will prove to be the most thought-compelling, the most zeal-inspiring, the most world-transforming of any conception or movement of modern times. In the light of Jesus' teaching concerning the kingdom of God, the Bible must be re-read, and history must be reinterpreted, and theology must be re-reasoned, and the mission of the Church must be reconsidered, and industry must be reformed, and society must be reorganized; for Jesus' doctrine of the kingdom

of God is the fundamental truth of the Gospels.

In the mind and teaching of Jesus the kingdom of God was his *social ideal*. A perfected world—heaven come to earth—was what the prophets meant by it; that was what Jesus meant by it. It is a significant fact that it is nowhere defined in the Gospels. Jesus began at once to preach about the kingdom without defining it, for the obvious reason that it was not necessary to define it. Israel had heard of the kingdom for hundreds of years. Jesus had come to inaugurate it. He laid down certain fundamental laws of the kingdom of God, the law of service, the law of sacrifice, and the law of love—all social laws; and they have been interpreted by the ministry, for hundreds of years, from the individualistic point of view. But they are every one social laws, and are never comprehended unless interpreted from the social point of view. They are radically perverted if interpreted in any other way.

The social teachings of Jesus are beautifully adapted to modern conditions. His conception of the kingdom of God, fully come in the earth, was God's will done on earth even as it is done in heaven; that is, perfect obedience to the will of God as manifested in all physical, mental, spiritual, and social laws. Is it not obvious that Jesus' social ideal, viz., the kingdom of God, is the very ideal that men are blindly groping after to-day?—only it is their gross ideal purified and glorified. Men are talking about brotherhood to-day. Is it not obvious that the real brotherhood after which men are blindly feeling is the brotherhood preached by Jesus—not a brotherhood that springs from common interests, but that which springs from a common Fatherhood? And is it not obvious that the social laws which Jesus laid down—the law of service, the law of sacrifice, the law of love—are precisely the laws needed to educate and develop the social conscience, and thus reach the solution of these numberless social problems? Is it not evident that the social teachings of Jesus fit to modern conditions as the glove fits to the hand? How are men to discharge their duty as Christian ministers if they are ignorant of

social conditions and social laws? As well might a physician hope to accomplish his work, being ignorant of physiology and of the materia medica. To-day—whatever has been true in the past—to-day the preacher whose only equipment for the ministry is a knowledge of spiritual truths and of spiritual laws is a ministerial quack.

For those whose hearts are right the great thing is to get the right point of view. When the minister, when our churches—assuming that their hearts are right toward God—have gained Jesus' point of view, the point of view of the kingdom of God, a marvelous change will come over the Church, and over society as well. There will then be developed a new life and a marvelous enthusiasm on the part of the Church and of the ministry. There will be an application of the social teachings of Jesus that will solve the great problems of labor, the great problems of crime and of pauperism, of housing and of intemperance, and all the long list of social problems. When we get Jesus' point of view, and comprehend his social teachings, we shall see how great are the opportunities afforded by social conditions, and we shall understand how to solve the problems which they present.

I believe there is no other solution for the social problems of our new civilization. Good men are vexed and the wisdom of the wise is shamed by the attitude of capital and labor to-day. They are like two men in the prize-ring, each waiting for a blow and watching for an opportunity to return it, instead of two men grasping each other by the hand.

Frances Willard, while talking with me once, referred to an expression of Conan Doyle, "The eternal duel between man and woman." Said Miss Willard, "Didn't he mean 'the eternal duet'?" There has existed well-nigh an eternal duel between capital and labor; there should be a perpetual duet, as between the two wings of a bird. Only when those two wings co-operate does the bird rise; only when capital and labor co-operate, serve together, serve each other, does enterprise rise.

I might give you illustrations of Chris-

tian men who have laid hold of the principles of Jesus and applied them to the industrial problem. I will venture to take space only for one. I received the story from the lips of the gentleman himself—a prominent man in the church where he lives, a manufacturer in Pennsylvania; he makes agricultural implements for the foreign market. He told me that some years ago he had a large order for plow points for the South African market. One day a committee of his workmen waited upon him and said: "We don't think we are getting all that we ought to out of these plow points"—it was piece work. "Well," said he, "how much do you think you ought to get?" They replied, "We think you ought to have about fifteen cents on each point, and we think we ought to get all the rest." It was very easy for him with a little figuring to show them that he was getting less than fifteen cents out of each plow point, and they retired in confusion. A day or two later they waited upon him again. "Well, what will you have, gentlemen?" "We came to speak to you with regard to that matter of the other day." "Why," he said, "I thought that incident was closed." "No; we do not look at it so. The men have had a meeting, and we are still of the opinion that you ought to get fifteen cents out of each point, and we have come to ask you to cut down our wages enough to give you fifteen cents on each plow point." Why, that is a symptom of the millennium! That man told me he never had had a strike, never had any trouble with his operatives, and you do not wonder at it.

Introduce into the great industrial world the spirit of service inspired by love—the law of Jesus Christ as applied to modern industry—and you will solve all its problems. What if capital were organizing to-day, not to make the largest possible returns on its investment, but to render the best possible service to society in general, and to its employees in particular; and what if labor were combined in its vast organizations, not to get the largest wage for the shortest number of hours, but in order to serve society in general and employers in particular—there would not be any labor

problem left. As Emerson says, "Labor is still in the quadruped state. It hasn't yet risen above the struggle for existence by which the lower forms of life were evolved." In the family, in politics, in athletics, and even in war, men have got beyond the individualistic motto, "Every man for himself;" but in labor the old motto still survives, "Every man for himself." We have not yet reached the collective, the social, or, in other words, the Christian point of view—Each for all, and all for each.

The individualistic principle still survives in religion, and makes it commercial. We are too much like Peter when he was only half decided, and when he said: "Master, we have left all, and followed thee; what shall we *have* therefore?" That measure of consecration is well expressed by those ignoble lines familiar to you all:

"Whatever, Lord, we lend to Thee,
Repaid a thousand-fold will be;
Then gladly will we give to Thee,
Who givest all."

Yes. A pawnbroker with a heart chipped out of blue flint would gladly give on the same inviting terms—one dollar for a thousand! Giving for a return is not giving at all; it is investing; it is business as now conducted; it is commercialism—it is not Christianity. Love does not calculate. Love is not commercial. It breaks the alabaster box of self-concern and pours out the fragrant ointment of devotion without measure and without price.

The supreme need of the Church to-day, and of the ministry to-day, is the true conception of the kingdom of God and its coming in the world. It would solve all the great social problems. It would give us—it will ultimately give us—the ideal society, which can come in no other way. A society from which have been eliminated ignorance and selfishness, and therefore poverty and sin and wretchedness, begins to seem to men, not simply a far-off, abstract possibility to be dreamed of, but an infinite good to be struggled and sacrificed for, an ideal capable of being realized, and so glorious that it is inspiring passionate longing and persistent endeavor. It embraces all that is involved in human

well-being and the progress of civilization—the dreams of poets, the visions of seers, the longings of saints—all that has inspired philanthropists and the devotees of science; all that has kindled the devotion of patriots, the zeal of reformers, the faith of missionaries, the holy joy of martyrs, the enthusiasm of apostles, the love of Christ—all *that* is involved in the kingdom of God fully come in the earth. All of the noble impulses of which the human heart is capable merged into one mighty passion for humanity—not as a substitute for religion, but as an expression of it; not the service of men instead of the service of God, but the service of God in the service of men—this is the Christianity of Christ, which is sorely needed both by the world and the Church today. To put brain and heart into God's work of making an ideal world; in some real sense "to think his thoughts after him;" to aim at the same great end; to be moved by the same self-giving

love; to be his fellow-servant of humanity; to share the patience of him to whom a thousand years are as one day, because we share his certainty of final success; to gain the peace and strength and persistence which flow from that certainty; and to foretaste with him the endless joy of such a consummation—this is life at its utter best; this is heaven already begun; this is inspiration which makes the most human life divine.

And this inspiration may be had by every one who has gained Christ's conception of the kingdom of God, and who has accepted his social laws of service, sacrifice, and love. He who enters the Christian ministry has the privilege and duty of entering into this high fellowship with Christ, and of living and laboring, not simply to save individual souls, but to realize that larger Christianity which aims at the full coming of the kingdom of God in the world by the salvation of society.

A Layman's Point of View

By H. C. Emery

THE Church is an organization for a purpose. As such it has achieved the power which comes from organization in any field, but has also encountered the danger inherent to all organizations, namely, that pride in the institution will become a more important factor in the lives of its members than the achievement of its purpose. Every organization is in a sense a necessary evil. A university is a necessary evil. As long as ignorance is so prevalent and knowledge so hard to acquire, the great expenditure of time, energy, and money represented by a university is necessary; but if children were born with a capacity for quicker development and could acquire the necessary knowledge in their daily contact with parents and friends, most of the schools and colleges could be done away with to advantage. The same is true in some measure of the Church. If there were not regular forms of worship, many people would not worship at all. But

if all men were trained to the higher life from the outset, if the Christian virtues ripened in them as bone and sinew grow, there would be little need of churches. Some worthy church people have an ideal of the future in which all mankind will be good church members and the organization will be all-embracing. When such a time comes, no one will need to belong to the Church—the reason for its existence will have passed. The Apocalyptic's city will then be realized. "And I saw no temple therein; for the Lord God the Almighty and the Lamb are the temples thereof."

In general, it may be said, I think, that the true spirit of Christianity is hostile to the Church idea. Formalism in worship and organized religion were the characteristics of Judaism, and since the Christian Church was organized there has been the ever present danger that Judaism would conquer Christianity. The protest of Jesus was directed against the Church of his day, a Church

which, with all its errors and dogmatism, based itself on the Old Testament, which we accept to-day as part of Holy Writ. It was not the relation of man to the Church, but of man to man and of man to God, which formed the basis of his teaching. "Woman, believe me, the hour cometh when neither at Jerusalem nor yet in this mountain shall ye worship the Father." And yet is the Church not always loth to recognize that for some that hour is already come? We cherish the history of Protestantism and of Puritanism as the revolt of freemen against the slavery of established worship, in which it was declared that not at Jerusalem nor at Rome nor yet at Canterbury should men worship the Father; but do we recognize the fact that the hour cometh when not even in this mountain—our own mountain—our own Church—shall the Father be worshiped?

This does not mean that the Church has as yet played its part in the movement of social progress. There are certainly few to-day who have reached such a stage of spiritual development as not to profit from the organized worship of the Church, and even the most advanced can commonly be of service to the Church by their association with it. But granting that the good man needs the Church and the Church the good man, it does not follow that goodness should be a test of membership. On the contrary, it may be said in one sense that the good man should belong to the Church *despite* his goodness.

It would certainly be absurd to limit the scholars in a school to those who were already educated. It is not the learned but the ignorant, not the wise but the foolish, who are the important factors there. For those who have managed to acquire knowledge without the school, the school is unnecessary. If the Church were organized as the school system is, it might theoretically be possible to have different grades, each to be passed in turn, though entrance examinations based on spiritual excellence would be hard to frame. But it is *not* so organized, and to keep out the sinners is like keeping everybody out of the primary schools who cannot read and

write, like the absurdity of keeping a boy out of the water until he learns to swim.

But, some one will say, *does* the Church exclude sinners? Is there not more rejoicing over the one who is saved than over the ninety and nine who went not astray? Yes, over the one that is *saved*, but what about the nine times ninety and nine who are not saved, but who are vainly trying to be? Does the Church receive these? Not frequently, I think. As fast as they leave evil behind them they are taken in, but they must first achieve a certain standard, and how are they to achieve this standard? The practice seems to be to preach to them and to send missionaries among them till they are prepared, but to leave them outside all active co-operation till that time. If the end is the uplifting of such people, cannot it be better accomplished inside the organization than without?

I am not speaking merely of what is called church membership, but of all active participation in the life of the Church, and is this statement of the Church's attitude unfair? Truly the Church should grieve for sin wherever it appears, but to me it seems strange indeed that it should be a scandal for a sinner to be found within the Church. Where else should he be found? Does not the Church exist for him? And yet there have been cases of the expulsion of sinners from the Church. I appreciate fully that I am dealing with a difficult problem, and that many objections will at once occur. Three in particular need to be noticed: First, that the Church must protect its influence by keeping itself intact from evil; second, that the Church cannot condone evil by failing to repudiate it; third, that the sinner inside the Church is a hypocrite, using it for a cloak to his wickedness.

The first objection is the least important. If the Church is compelled to reject sinners in order to preserve its own position and avoid the criticism of the outside world, the Church is built on a less firm foundation than I had supposed. What matters it if the Church is taunted with harboring sinners—should not that rather be its boast? I have heard it said in sneering tones that the

Salvation Army is full of depravity, as if that fact showed the hollowness of its claims. Of course it is full of depravity, and why? Because it is made up of the depraved classes. The Salvation Army has not corrupted them; it has found them corrupt and has not rejected them in consequence; it does not reject them even though their sins continue—it never ceases to forgive, it never ceases to hope—and it cares little for the sneers of those who see the sin and forget that the sin is the cause of the Army and not the Army of the sin. You cannot cure souls by the absent treatment.

In the second place, it may be urged that the Church must repudiate sin wherever it appears. That is true, but I know of no injunction to repudiate the sinner. It is a cardinal principle of Christianity to love the sinner even to the point of incurring the wrath of the self-righteous; is it a cardinal principle of the Church? More important, however, is the question of the effect of such repudiation. It is not the preservation of the righteous but the reform of the evil with which the Church is concerned, and I very much doubt the efficacy of the Church's denunciation of evil-doers, at least in many cases. The evil-doer, the thief, the libertine, and the scandal-monger are commonly beyond the pale of the anathema. They do not tremble and fall down in repentance when the thunders of the righteous are hurled at them. They too often set their hard faces all the more defiantly against the right, and with the pride of battle in them. But the thief or the libertine who will sneer at your advice and answer back your denunciations will in most cases tremble at the touch of a hospitable hand that bids him welcome, and will cry out in remorse at the kindly word of those who count not his sins against him.

The third objection has probably the most popular support—that if the evil man is penitent the Church will welcome him, but that if he is hypocritically using his connection with the Church to cover up his wrong-doing he should not be tolerated. This sounds reasonable, but I believe it is a false attitude. In the first place, it assumes that penitence is

the same thing as reform, that a man is not penitent unless he gives up his evil deeds. But penitence is a matter of the heart and not of the will, and the habitual sinner may yet be genuinely penitent. To deny this is again to set up that standard of achievement without which no one may enter into the fold. Furthermore, if the wrong-doer be a hypocrite, is not his very hypocrisy his worst sin, and shall we admit that there is nothing in Christian teaching that can move the hypocrite?

But what right have we to brand a man with hypocrisy who is guilty of wrong-doing while connecting himself with the Church? Is there a man living who is not guilty of wrong-doing every year and every day of his life? A man may be guilty, and know himself guilty, of the sins of envy, of covetousness, of uncharitableness, of hard-heartedness, and yet pray in church without hypocrisy. But if he is guilty of an overt act of wrong and prays in church, he is a hypocrite! And yet the secret sins of the heart are more destructive of the soul's life than those registered in the statute-book. When the publican prayed, "Lord, be merciful to me a sinner," Christ believed him. But do we believe him?

The moral nature of man is not so simple a thing that we can judge it from a single line of conduct; one side of a man's life may be blackened with sin and yet leave another side brightened with the true spirit of reverence and worship.

In a town where I once lived, a leading citizen was for years prominent in the church, and in its meetings was known for his earnest prayers for the forgiveness of his sins. After twenty years it developed that he had been an embezzler all that time; and the church forgot to grieve for the sin in its indignation at the scandal of a sinner polluting the church with his prayers. Was that a Christian attitude? What right had they to brand that man with hypocrisy—to say that his prayers were not more sincere than theirs? Who shall say how that man wrestled with Apollon? Who shall say what crimes he might not have committed had it not been for the Church? That man be-

longed in the Church, and the Church should have given up its saints before giving up him.

I knew another case where a young woman who belonged to the Church, and who in many respects had been unfortunate, was suspected—and only suspected—of having been decoyed from the path of virtue. Did the Church at once throw its shelter about her, and show her that within its doors were the hope and peace that could fill the pitiful emptiness of her life? No, but it took steps to have her give up her connection with the organization, for fear of scandal! for fear that the good name of the Church might be sullied!

These may be extreme rather than typical cases, but they do represent that dangerous tendency, the tendency of the Church to consider itself a communion of saints rather than a company of sinners. The Church claims as a mission (to use the well-worn phrase) the saving of souls. But it can best save them after it gets them in rather than before. It should not be made up of souls that are saved, but of souls that need saving. The Church should be a college where men may learn the better life, not a Phi Beta Kappa Society of those who have already succeeded.

There are many people outside the Church whom the Church needs as much as they need it. Many reasons have been given why these people remain aloof, but I believe an important one has been largely overlooked and is found in this very attitude of the Church which I have mentioned. There are many young men who are in fullest sympathy with the real aims of the Church who do not take a part in its work because they feel that by so doing they are saying to the public, not that they are sinners, which they are frank to admit, but that they are saints, which they know to be false. It may be said that the Church has always made the conviction of sin a necessity of membership, but in doing so it has emphasized solely the idea of past sin and the need of a complete moral revulsion. The normal young man, however, is not so much conscious of heinous sins in his past as of the ever-present danger that his life will become materialized and his ideals become dead dreams. Many a church fails to secure the co-operation of the young men of the community because it makes no adequate response to their genuine feelings, while it exaggerates the importance of a mental attitude which they cannot understand.

Anthracite Coal Communities¹

ALTHOUGH it will occur to many readers that Mr. Peter Roberts's book would have had a peculiar value had it been available during the great strike in Pennsylvania in 1902, the volume is hardly less important to-day. And this because it not only gives a clear idea of some of the conditions which provoked and prolonged that remarkable struggle, but portrays in detail the status of the great industry so far as it concerns employees, and thereby pictures economic and social potentialities which should engage serious attention. Mr. Roberts, it will be recalled, was one of the important wit-

nesses before the Commission which arbitrated the differences between the coal companies and the miners, and there can be no doubt that he speaks with authority as to the facts of the miners' case. He offers in the present work an able, well-arranged, and exhaustive discussion of the economic, social, and political status of these very important industrial communities; and the discussion has much ethnological significance as well, since many of the most troublesome features of the situation reflect a very positive factor of foreignism, as represented by what Mr. Roberts terms the Slav element among the miners. Of this element the author has so much to say that we quote at this point his definition of the Slav

¹ *Anthracite Coal Communities*. By Peter Roberts, Ph.D. With Illustrations and Maps. The Macmillan Company, New York.

miners. "Those who are in the anthracite coal fields," he says, "come from the regions bordering the Baltic Sea on the north, and extending to the south as far as the Black Sea. The nations represented are the Letts, Slovacs, Ruthenians, Hungarians, Magyars, Poles, and Bohemians."

The mining regions of which Mr. Roberts writes lie chiefly in Lackawanna, Luzerne, and Schuylkill Counties of Pennsylvania. The population of this region has increased from less than 8,000 during the last decade of the eighteenth century to about 630,000 at present. The Inspector-in-Chief of the Bureau of Mines says that the anthracite collieries in this district have now reached their maximum production. "When the business declines," says Mr. Roberts, "the surplus population will be forced out to other industries, but the process of expulsion will intensify the conflict within the mining industries, for the reason that the major part of the surplus labor seeking employment will not readily migrate." And the ancillary industries will not suffice to employ this crowded-out element. Furthermore, Mr. Roberts believes that "the character of the population of this area has perceptibly deteriorated in the last thirty years," not alone "from the influx of needy, ignorant, and incapable workmen, but also from the degeneracy of the descendants of the shiftless and thriftless immigrants of past generations."

In the first half-century of the mining industry, the British Isles and Germany furnished the workmen, and in 1880 less than five per cent. were Slavs; but to-day about fifty per cent. belong to these races. This percentage represents between 34,000 and 35,000 adult males (of whom 17,000 are bachelors), or in all a population of 100,000 of these peoples. About thirty-two per cent. of the entire population are foreign-born, but if the native-born of foreign parents are included, this element aggregates seventy per cent. of the population.

Industrially considered, Mr. Roberts says the Slav is "a good machine in the hands of competent directors." Furthermore, his natural persistence makes him a good union man. On the other

hand, most of the 50,000 illiterates are Slavs, and "they are dirty in their homes and the vast majority of them exercise very little thought in their daily toil." But as a rule they are thrifty, and want to own their homes, and Mr. Roberts in this connection very truly says: "Coal companies who unyieldingly grasp every inch of property under their control and refuse to sell an inch of land to their employees commit a grave mistake." As to different ways of living, Mr. Roberts says that the Slavs "as a rule are quite willing to take boarders, while the Anglo-Saxons are not; and, furthermore, the Anglo-Saxons pay rent of from \$5 to \$9 a month, which is 100 per cent. more than is paid by the Slavs." Again, the Anglo-Saxon young couple will invest from \$100 to \$150 in house-furnishings, and go in debt for a part of that sum, while the Slav couple will pay cash for what they can get for from \$35 to \$50. Slav single men, says Mr. Roberts, "pay from \$2 to \$3 a month for lodging, washing, etc., and buy their own provisions. It costs them under this system about \$10 a month. The Anglo-Saxon boarders pay from \$16 to \$18 a month."

About 16 per cent. of the miners' houses are owned by the companies, says our author, speaking of this much-discussed question; and in Luzerne, Schuylkill, and Northumberland Counties the assessors classify many of these miners' dwellings as "shanties," and assess them at from \$10 to \$25. For these the companies get rent of from \$1.75 to \$3 a month. More than 50 per cent. of the company's houses are assessed at from \$10 to \$100; many of them are mere shells in which it is impossible for the miners to keep warm in the winter. Better houses have been built by some of the companies in recent years, but Mr. Roberts says it is apparent enough that these "do not pay so large a dividend as the miserable shanties built half a century ago." Large families are the rule, and among the Slavs the "marriage by purchase" theory prevails, and has its inevitable effect upon the wives and mothers. In a subdivision of this chapter Mr. Roberts takes up also the case of the chil-

dren, and pictures with much vividness the shocking and demoralizing home environments of too many families. "How," he asks, "can modesty and decency be practiced in a house with one bedroom? We have seen homes where the only bedroom had in it four beds, in which the parents and children slept." The schools of the district are equal to those of second or third class cities, but, on the average, the boys leave school before they are eleven years old, and the girls before they are twelve, and in the mining camps "from 90 to 95 per cent. of the scholars do not advance beyond the primary department." Most of the boys, as soon as they are strong enough, are employed in the "breakers." Mr. Roberts declares that no employer obeys the law which orders the keeping of a register of all boys under sixteen years of age, and goes on to say: "No industry in the State is so demoralizing to boys as the anthracite coal industry. For the last half-century the sons of anthracite mine workers have been left to the saloon, the dancing-hall, and the theater, and lawlessness and irreverence and crime have steadily increased." Some of the darkest pages in the book are those in which these surroundings and their effect upon the youth of this region are described. It is a picture which sociologists and economists may well ponder.

The question of intemperance is considered at length, and the author declares that here the need for reform is great. He says that this work "as carried on by Protestant churches lacks organization and united effort," and that "when local churches learn to co-operate upon a platform acceptable to their leaders, some good may come of the movement." He thinks that "the influence

of the miners' union has, on the whole, been in favor of temperance reform." Of Protestant churches in the region Mr. Roberts seems to be quite clear that there are more than the population ought reasonably to be expected to maintain, and he gives statistics which support this view. "Taking the territory as a whole," he says, "there is a Protestant church for every 500 nominal Protestants, and a pastor for an average of 194 communicants. Of Roman Catholics, on the other hand, there are between 250,000 and 275,000. Each parish has an average of about 1,500 souls, and each priest has an average of 1,300 souls in his charge."

It will not surprise anybody to learn that political conditions in these mining communities are discouragingly bad—that the political boss and vote-buyer are there, and that political corruption seems to be increasing. But Mr. Roberts points out the added danger of the effect of such conditions upon a foreign people who come here with little or no conception of our political institutions, and whose earliest lesson is likely to be that a ballot is a commodity which it is quite proper to sell to the highest bidder. Furthermore, according to Mr. Roberts, "the character of town councils in many boroughs in the counties of Lackawanna and Luzerne has been such that the Lehigh Valley and the Delaware and Hudson companies have forbidden their foremen and assistant foremen from entering these bodies."

We have outlined roughly only a few of the more important subjects considered in this very significant volume. That the information which it contains may some day be invaluable seems likely enough in view of what has already happened in the region with which it deals.

Books of the Week

This report of current literature is supplemented by fuller reviews of such books as in the judgment of the editors are of special importance to our readers. Any of these books will be sent by the publishers of The Outlook, postpaid, to any address on receipt of the published price, with postage added when the price is marked "net."

America, Asia, and the Pacific. By Wolf von Schierbrand, Ph.D. With Thirteen Maps. Henry Holt & Co., New York. 5x7½ in. 334 pages. \$1.50.

Dr. von Schierbrand has made an interesting and, on the whole, able survey of a broad field. Beginning with a discussion of the Russo-Japanese war and its probable outcome, he considers not only the consequences of the war in affecting the status of the United States in the Far East, but also the entire subject of our future Pacific relations, as determined by our entrance into Asiatic waters and the building of the Panama Canal. The present struggle he regards as merely preliminary to a far-reaching contest for commercial and possibly political supremacy in the Pacific, and, analyzing the points of strength and of weakness in the equipment of our rivals and ourselves, reaches the conclusion that the United States is best fitted for the coming conflict. Singular readings of history and obvious over-statements and contradictions afford his readers much with which to disagree, but there can hardly be two opinions regarding the correctness of his main contention. The work contains a great variety of useful information concerning the many countries under review, and will be found especially valuable to American exporters, since, in addition to pointing out promising markets that have hitherto been neglected, it is richly suggestive in indicating apparent trifles contributing largely to the success of foreign competitors both in Asia and South America. It cannot be doubted, however, that signs of haste and carelessness are present in this monograph to a degree that may well cause even its most helpful hints to be looked upon with distrust. Using statistics extensively, Dr. von Schierbrand, unfortunately, does not always see to it that his figures "square." Thus we find him giving \$21,485,000 as the total value of Japanese imports from the United States; appraising our exports to China at \$30,000,000; and elsewhere placing our total exports to Japan, China, Korea, and Asiatic Russia together at but \$49,970,000. Such discrepancies may be accounted as due to haste, pure and simple, but this in no way extenuates them. The subject is one pre-eminently demanding careful and studied treatment.

As a Chinaman Saw Us: Passages from His Letters to a Friend at Home. D. Appleton & Co., New York. 5x7¾ in. 324 pages. \$1.25, net. (Postage, 10c.)

Book of Genesis (The). By S. R. Driver, D.D. (Westminster Commentaries.) Edwin S. Gorham, New York. 5½x9 in. 420 pages.

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Cambridge Modern History (The). Planned by the Late Lord Acton, LL.D. Edited by A. W. Ward, Litt.D., G. W. Prothero, Litt.D., Stanley Leathes, M.A. Vol. VIII. **The French Revolution.** The Macmillan Co., New York. 6½x9½ in. 875 pages. \$4, net.

In noticing the preceding volumes of this series attention has been called to the advantage of its peculiar plan, in the distribution of the chapters of each volume among writers qualified by special study of their subjects. Thirteen such specialists contribute the twenty-five chapters of this volume. It covers only the twenty-five years that closed the eighteenth century, but its subject deserves, both as the effect of so much that went before and the cause of so much that followed after, the prominence accorded it, as of equal importance with the Protestant Revolution in the sixteenth century, usually called the Reformation. Its horizon, as here viewed, is the continent of Europe. The foreign policy of Pitt, the rise of Russia under Catharine II., the extinction of Poland, the first emergence of the Eastern Question to international importance, the legacy of formative influences which the nineteenth century inherited from the few fateful years that preceded it, are all brought into the scene. One might say, indeed, that the horizon is quite too European, in its almost complete disconnection from the American contribution to ideas and events, for an adequate treatment in the line of cause and effect. The opening chapter on "Philosophy and the Revolution" admirably shows how French thinkers and theorists aided to create an explosive atmosphere. What Washington's allies brought home to France, after seeing in practice here what they had before only read in books, added a dynamic ingredient to which slight reference is made. Much larger space is given to the Nootka Sound dispute with Spain in 1790, by which England gained her hold on our present Northwestern border. M. Paul Viollet, Professor in the École des Chartes, Paris, contributes a chapter on "French Law in the Age of the Revolution"—the only portion of the volume written out of Great Britain, and one of the most valuable. In breadth of view and picturesque treatment of details these collaborators have produced an eminently attractive work.

Chronique du Règne de Charles IX. By Prosper Mérimée. Edited by Ernest Weekley, M.A. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 5x7½ in. 178 pages. 60c., net.

Companion to French Verse (A): With Poems for Recitation. By H. J. Chaytor, M.A. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 4¾x7½ in. 107 pages. 60c., net.

Dante and the English Poets from Chaucer to Tennyson. By Oscar Kuhns. Henry Holt & Co., New York. 5×8 in. 271 pages. \$1.25.

This volume gives a survey of the field of Dante influence on English poetry, and furnishes a starting-point for the special study of any particular period. It would be more consistent with the make-up of the book if the quotations were given in translation. This would also increase the usefulness of the work to those who, like Emerson, prefer to approach Boston by bridge rather than by a cold plunge. We would also suggest mention of Chaucer's efforts in the *terza rima*. Professor Kuhns steers between the extremes in the difficult problem of "influences." His "*chasse aux parallèles*" is marked by sound judgment.

Educational Music Course (The): Teachers' Edition for Elementary Grades. By James M. McLaughlin and W. W. Gilchrist. Ginn & Co., Boston. 7×10½ in. 271 pages. \$1.25.

Eleanor Ormerod, LL.D., Economic Entomologist: Biography and Correspondence. Edited by Robert Wallace. Illustrated. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 5½×9 in. 345 pages. \$6, net.

English People (The): A Study of Their Political Psychology. By Émile Boutmy. Translated from the French by E. English. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. 5½×8½ in. 332 pages. \$2.50, net.

Reserved for later notice.

Episode de Waterloo (Un). By Stendhal. Adapted and Edited by Maurice A. Gerotwohl. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 94 pages. 60c., net.

Forest Drama (A). By Louis Pendleton. Henry T. Coates & Co., Philadelphia, Pa. 5×7¾ in. 272 pages.

This is a love story of the Canadian forest and lakes in which the chief parts are played by a young English girl and a romantic French Canadian of literary proclivities and musical genius. The story as such is fairly interesting, but its art shows crudeness and lack of care.

Grieschische Heroengeschichten. By B. G. Niebuhr. Edited by George E. Merkley. Allyn & Bacon, Boston. 4½×7 in. 122 pages. 50c.

Heroes of History. By Ida Prentice Whitcomb. Illustrated. Maynard, Merrill & Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 448 pages. 60c.

"He Whom Thou Lovest is Sick." By Rosa Pendleton Chiles. Whittet & Shepperson, Richmond, Va. 6×9 in. 54 pages. 35c.

Holding the Ropes: Missionary Methods for Workers at Home. By Belle M. Brain. Funk & Wagnalls Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 224 pages. \$1, net.

Journey in the Seaboard Slave States in the Years 1853-1854 (A): With Remarks on their Economy. By Frederick Law Olmsted. In 2 vols. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. 6×9 in. \$5, net.

When the eminent landscape artist, Mr. Olmsted, died, a year ago or so, attention was directed to the fact that many years ago he had written a record of his experiences in the Southern States before the war. As the race question at the time of Mr. Olmsted's death was being discussed with special vigor, his book about the South came in for a rather large share of public attention directed to him by his death. As a result we have

now a new edition of this book, and the reading public is to be congratulated on the fact. Not only are these two volumes a photographic and illuminating picture of social and industrial conditions in the slave States before the war, but the narrative is told in such easy and pleasing style that the work deserves permanent life as a part of our literature. The special circumstances of Mr. Olmsted's journeys did not, however, give him an adequate view of the social life of the old-time Southern aristocrats. Advocates of extreme views on either side in regard to Southern questions will find little to support their conclusions in Mr. Olmsted's plain, simple, and fair description of life as it actually appeared to a cultivated and intelligent Northern traveler.

Language of Handwriting (The): A Text-Book of Graphology. By Richard Dimsdale Stocker. Illustrated. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 259 pages. 50c.

Leonardo da Vinci. By Edward McCurdy, M.A. Illustrated. (The Great Masters in Painting and Sculpture Series.) The Macmillan Co., New York. 5×8 in. 139 pages. \$1.75.

A satisfactory addition to a series many volumes of which have already been mentioned in these columns. The reproductions of paintings are few, for the simple reason that Leonardo left very few completed paintings. On the other hand, as all lovers of art know, he left a considerable number of exquisite drawings and sketches, many of which are here well rendered. The photograph of the "Mona Lisa" is finely done. Mr. McCurdy has very sensibly refrained from ecstasies and from useless comparisons. He tells the story of Da Vinci's life and work plainly and fully.

Mediæval Princess (A): Jacqueline, Countess of Holland. By Ruth Putnam. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. 5×8½ in. 338 pages. \$2.25, net.

A sympathetic account of the stormy career of Jacqueline, "last independent sovereign in Holland, Zealand, and Hainaut." This picturesque Amazon's troubles began at an early age. A widow at sixteen, we find her at seventeen leading her troops in the first conflict of the long and futile struggle for the retention of her principalities, contending in turn against her uncle, John of Bavaria; her second husband, John of Brabant, and her cousin, Philip of Burgundy. Sordid domestic quarrels, a flight to England, an irregular marriage to Humphrey, brother of the far-famed Henry V., a joint and disastrous invasion of her native land, imprisonment, escape, renewal of hostilities, final surrender and retirement to a life of merry-making ease with her fourth husband, Frank van Borselen, gave the ancient chroniclers plenty of food for gossip, and afford the present historian sufficient material for a highly interesting narrative. The writer, we observe, complains that while Joan of Arc "has received much attention from posterity," Jacqueline, who fought against the men by whom Joan was also conquered, has been slighted. Readers of even this friendly depiction of her character and adventures,

however, will not marvel that the oft-married princess has dropped from view. The only possible similitude between her and the heroic peasant girl is that cited above. In recalling Jacqueline from the dim past the author has, on the other hand, given us a really valuable "foot-note of history," detailing the manner in which the Burgundian ancestor of that scourge of the Netherlands, Philip of Spain, secured his foothold in Holland.

Mother of Pauline (The). By L. Parry Truscott. D. Appleton & Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 297 pages. \$1.50.

Mystery of Miriam (The). By J. Wesley Johnston. Robert B. Turner & Co., Boston. 5×7¾ in. 459 pages.

Niagara, and Other Poems. By Benjamin Copeland. The Matthews-Northrup Works, Buffalo, New York. 4¾×7½ in. 133 pages.

North America. By Israel C. Russell. Illustrated. D. Appleton & Co., New York. 6×9 in. 435 pages. \$2.50, net. (Postage, 20c. additional.)

Professor Russell occupies the chair of Geology in the University of Michigan, and is well qualified for the work he here takes in hand. Physical geography, dealing with the natural conditions of the continent, and economic geography, explaining man's dependence on natural resources and his employment of them to form civilization, are the main features of Professor Russell's treatment, although the first receives fuller exposition than the second. Thus geography, natural topography, climate, plant life, animal life, and geology occupy together two-thirds of the book, while the study of aboriginal human life and of the inception of political geography are only briefly outlined. In style and manner the book is as easy reading as could be possible in a work so fundamentally scientific and scholarly.

Perfection of Beauty and Other Sermons (The). By Rev. Moses D. Hoge, D.D., LL.D. The Presbyterian Committee of Publication, Richmond, Va. 5¼×8¾ in. 334 pages. \$1.25, net. Postage, 15c.

The compilers of this collection of sermons have not merely prepared a fitting tribute to Dr. Hoge's memory; they have rendered a distinct service to the Christian faith. Not alone Presbyterians may derive inspiration here. The overmastering and beautiful optimism of the speaker who is no longer with us; his abiding conviction in the justness of the claim of Christianity to universality of dominion; his breadth of vision; above all, his sincerity and earnestness, must awake answering chords in the hearts of Christians of whatever denomination. From these pages breathes a spirit quick with life; from them even those who knew not Dr. Hoge can clearly perceive what manner of man he was, from them draw an incentive to a truer life before God and before man. Belief in God, belief in one's country, belief in one's fellow-man, and belief in one's self, ring from phrase to phrase. As a stimulus not alone to the religious life but to better citizenship we commend this volume to our readers.

Poems. By Sir Lewis Morris. (Authorized Selection.) E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 3¼×5¼ in. 340 pages. 75c.

The best of Sir Lewis's poems are here printed in a little volume not larger than the hand, which is almost ideally printed and bound in limp leather. While the permanent place of this poet in literature may not be of the highest, it is undeniable that he has written single lyrics and narrative poems which have touched deep the popular heart and have done so without vulgarity or extravagance.

Pride of Jennico (The). By Agnes and Egerton Castle. The Macmillan Co., New York. 4¾×7 in. 341 pages. 25c.

Rand-McNally Economizer (The): A Guide to the World's Fair, St. Louis, 1904. Illustrated with Maps and Diagrams of the Buildings. Compiled by W. S. Wrenn. Rand, McNally & Co., Chicago. 4×7 in. 190 pages.

Real New York (The). By Rupert Hughes. Illustrated. The Smart Set Publishing Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 384 pages. \$1.50, net.

Religion of the Universe (The). By J. Allanson Picton, M.A. The Macmillan Co., New York. 5¾×9 in. 380 pages. \$3.25, net.

An elaborate exposition, built upon a somewhat strained interpretation of the Spenserian Unknowable, of the claims of Pantheism to recognition in the broadest sense as the religion of the universe. Mr. Picton's point of view is almost indicated by the dedication of his work, "To the memory of Herbert Spencer, the first true reconciler between Religion and Science." Like the late M. Auguste Sabatier, he holds that the death-knell has been sounded for religions of authority, but the religion wherewith he would save the world from materialism and meet the needs and aspirations of humanity is not that advanced in "The Religions of Authority and the Religion of the Spirit" (reviewed in the April 2, 1904, issue of The Outlook). His is an effort to prove that "a contemplation of the Unknowable fragmentarily revealed and infinitely veiled in the universe may, at an advanced stage of progress, do all for mankind that has hitherto been achieved at times by the best religions." In this contemplation, he argues, science and religion—the latter having rid herself of portent and miracle—may meet on common ground in the acknowledgment that while the "finite phases" of the Unknowable may be harmoniously interpreted by each, the "absolute Totality is beyond the conception of either." His endeavor to maintain his contention that the only true religion is blind resignation to the Unknowable working through the Universe, and as the Universe, is highly interesting but unconvincing, and this to skeptic and man of religion alike. The former will be no more willing to accept Mr. Picton's references of the inexplicable to the Pantheistic Unknowable than to accept the orthodox references to the inscrutable workings of God; the latter will, in the ultimate analysis, find Pantheism a cold, cheerless substitute for the living faith of Christianity. It is in truth

remarkable that a man who can write of the Gospel of Christ, as does Mr. Picton, "The authenticity of the writings embodying this teaching is, from our point of view, a matter of indifference, for the teaching is there, however it originated. And the point on which I insist is, that during the latter half of the first Christian century and the earlier half of the second there was handed about in fragmentary documents, and passed from one Christian congregation to another, a literature containing the noblest ideal ever presented to mankind, of a world-wide commonwealth founded on love and truth and right," should be impelled to go beyond the teachings of the Christ to the formulation of a reversionary, esoteric adoration of "that which is behind humanity and behind all other things." Recognizing the truly reverential spirit in which Mr. Picton has approached his task; recognizing, too, the real services he renders—however unconsciously—to Christianity, we cannot but feel that he errs in beholding in Pantheism a reconciliation of religion and science, and in contending that Pantheism, with its negation of the supreme hope of the Christian and its substitution of a formless, unconscious immortality, must supplant the faith that has conquered the world.

St. John: A Poem. By Robert F. Horton. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 40 pages. 50c., net.

Second Mrs. Jim (The). By Stephen Conrad. L. C. Page & Co., Boston. 5×7½ in. 164 pages.

There is a good deal that is racy and entertaining in the talk of the "Second Mrs. Jim," who is the shrewd and vigorous second wife of a farmer. She manages both the farmer and her stepsons with consummate art and good sense, and proves that a stepmother may sometimes be both affectionate and far seeing in the control of children.

Seeing Darkly. By Rev. J. Sparhawk Jones, D.D. (The Presbyterian Pulpit Series.) The Presbyterian Board of Publication and Sabbath-School Work, Philadelphia. 5×7½ in. 188 pages. 75c., net. (Postage, 7c.)

Social England. Edited by H. D. Traill, D.C.L., and J. S. Mann, M.A. Illustrated Edition. Vol. V. *From the Accession of George the First to the Battle of Waterloo.* G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. 7×10½ in. 864 pages. \$5, net.

Reserved for later notice.

Social Life under the Stuarts. By Elizabeth Godfrey. Illustrated. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 5½×8¾ in. 273 pages. \$3.50, net.

The author follows in a general way the course she took in her readable volume, "Home Life under the Stuarts;" indeed, it is perhaps difficult to draw a line between the two books which should scientifically separate the field of one from the field of the other. Taken together, they give an insight into the social and domestic life of a period in English history which is not surpassed in interest in these particulars by any, unless it be that of the eighteenth century. The present book takes up such subjects as music, art, science, and superstition, the religious life,

the play, town life, country pastimes; and the evident result of an immense amount of reading and study is here presented in a form acceptable to the general reader. The curiosities and humors of the age are given a full proportion of attention.

Special Bases of the Anglican Claim (The). By George F. Holden, M.A. Edwin S. Gorham, New York. 5×7¾ in. 210 pages. 75c., net.

These "bases" of the claim to Apostolicity are severally exhibited as "The Appeal to Antiquity," "Comprehensiveness," "Continuity," "Reasonableness," "Nationality." The author's task is to combat the Roman affirmation of the invalidity of the holy orders of the Anglican Church, and to confirm the waverers in that Church who are dazzled by the pretensions of Rome. In doing this he avoids mere polemics; he endeavors to show rather that the points of reproach which Rome finds in Anglicanism are points in which to glory. Impossible to him is union with Rome, or with the "Non-conformist" bodies, to none of which he concedes Apostolicity, or the name of "Church." His desire is turned rather toward union with the anti-papal orthodox Greeks. The author's generous recognition of the religious merits of Christian bodies which he treats as non-apostolic indicate that, if he had heeded his own caution against "over-definition," he might have taken broader ground, and made a stronger argument against the Roman claim.

Story of Anglo-Saxon Institutions (The). By Sidney C. Tapp, Ph.B. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. 5×7¾ in. 245 pages. \$1.50.

A very uneven work. Mr. Tapp argues that not only have the Anglo-Saxon people identified themselves from the earliest times with free institutions and popular sovereignty, but that no other race "has ever had a true conception of republican institutions or solved correctly the problem of self-government." The greater part of his book is devoted to sustaining this contention and to tracing the growth and development of constitutional government. Finding that this is possessed in its highest form by the United States, he holds, nevertheless, that the sovereignty of the people is not truly recognized even here; that, indeed, the Republic "is to-day within the clamps and clutches of a royal commercial aristocracy." Scoring some good points in his criticism of dangers which all recognize to exist, he goes to an extreme in the mode of individualism he preaches as an antidote. To him the doctrine of the survival of the fittest should be given well-nigh unhampered sway. "Let the lawmaking power be limited," he declares, "to the defense of man's rights, let him be let alone to act for himself and his own development, so long as he does not interfere with the rights of others, without any aid or hindrance from the government. When the government or lawmaking power passes the limit of this canon, it becomes paternal;" and, elsewhere, "Let the government collect enough revenue in the way of

taxation equally levied on all property and all citizens and economically administered to protect every citizen in his property rights and personal liberty, to suppress insurrection and rebellion, and to prevent invasion by foreign enemy, to make law and order effective, and not one dollar more." No room here for free hospitals, free schools, free libraries, or State-aided progressive institutions of any kind. We may, however, mistake Mr. Tapp's intentions; in another connection he decries individualism. Clarity, unfortunately, is not a marked characteristic of his work. Nor is he over-careful in statement. To say that the power of impeachment is vested in the Senate may, for example, be deemed merely a slip, but such slips do not tend to gain acquiescence in the writer's claim to speak with authority.

Story of the Red Cross (A): Glimpses of Field Work. By Clara Barton. D. Appleton & Co., New York. $4\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ in. 199 pages. \$1, net. (Postage, 10c.)

What the Association of the American Red Cross has done since its formation in the winter of 1880-81 is the subject of this volume. It tells the story of fever-smitten Texas and famine-smitten Russia, of flood-swept Johnstown and Galveston, of desolated Armenia, Cuba, and other afflicted regions, and of the advent of the angels of mercy with their reliefs. What the daily press then chronicled in ephemeral print is here given a permanent as well as more authentic record. The record is fittingly made by Miss Barton, who was herself so long the directing genius of the whole movement.

Stratford on Avon. By H. W. Tompkins. Illustrated. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 4×7 in. 69 pages. 50c., net.

A pretty, charmingly printed little book illustrated by original drawings of the famous scenes in and about Stratford. The volume, while in no sense a guide-book, would be a pleasant companion to have during a visit to Stratford.

Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome (The). By Samuel Ball Platner. Illustrated. (College Latin Series.) Allyn & Bacon, Boston. $5\frac{1}{2} \times 8$ in. 517 pages.

This volume is designed for the student of archæology rather than for the general reader, but its ample illustration and careful description make it an excellent work of reference for all who have any interest whatever in the great monuments of antiquity with which Rome abounds. The work includes the latest discoveries in the Forum and elsewhere, and its treatment of topography, architectural development, and building methods and material is full and clear.

Trail of Lewis and Clark, 1804-1904 (The). By Olin D. Wheeler. Illustrated. In 2 vols. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $5\frac{3}{4} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$ in. 377 pages. \$6, net.

In every way an admirable work, clear, comprehensive, and embodying the salient features of all that recent research has disclosed respecting the history, personnel, and route of this famous overland expedition of explo-

ration. Mr. Wheeler opens with a well-written survey of the Louisiana Purchase, so intimately connected with the Lewis and Clark undertaking, which he regards, however, not as a sequel to the Purchase, but as a project nursed by Jefferson for years. His preliminary chapter also includes a useful summary of the wonderful development of the region included in the Purchase. Following a sketch of the origin and organization of the expedition come accounts of the most prominent of those who took part in it, not a little new information being given of their later careers. Here Mr. Wheeler rightly devotes considerable space to the tragic death of Lewis, carefully weighing the evidence pro and con suicide or murder, and deciding in favor of the latter theory. The narrative of the journey itself is very full, the author quoting not only from the Lewis and Clark record, but from the journals of their lieutenants, Floyd and Gass, and giving in detail his reasons for identification in the case of disputed points, particularly the crossing of the mountains, indicating for the benefit of prospective tourists the historic spots along the various railroads now paralleling or transecting the old trail. Much supplementary information, chiefly of an ethnological and archæological character, adds to the interest and value of the work, which reflects the greatest credit upon Mr. Wheeler and all connected with its preparation. Free from typographical blemishes, it is handsomely bound, printed in clear type, on excellent paper, and profusely illustrated from paintings, drawings, photographs, and old prints.

War Songs and Poems of the Southern Confederacy, 1861-1865. Collected and Retold with Personal Reminiscences of the War by H. M. Wharton, D.D. Illustrated. The John C. Winston Co., Philadelphia. $6\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$ in. 416 pages. \$2, net.

In this large volume have been collected with great care what must practically constitute the entire body of popular lyrics and poems of the South during the Civil War. One is surprised by the number of these, but if one is also surprised at the literary quality, it is only because it is so poor. This would be true, we suppose, in any popular collection of ephemeral verse of this kind, and there are some notable exceptions to the general rule. The book is illustrated; and in many cases the circumstances in which poems were written, and interesting incidents of the war, are included.

Woman Errant (The): Being Some Chapters from the Wonder Book of Barbara, the Commuter's Wife. Illustrated. The Macmillan Co., New York. \$1.50.

Reserved for later notice.

Works of William Makepeace Thackeray (The). Kensington Edition. Vol. XVII. The Paris Sketch Book of Mr. M. A. Titmarsh. Vol. XVIII. The Memoirs of Barry Lyndon, Esq. Vol. XIX. The History of Samuel Titmarsh and the Great Hoggarty Diamond. The Memoirs of Mr. C. J. Yellowplush. Vol. XX. The Irish Sketch Book of 1842. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $5\frac{1}{2} \times 9$ in.

Correspondence

Letters addressed to the Editors of The Outlook, to receive any attention whatever, must in all cases be accompanied by the name and address of the writer. Names will not be published if a request to that effect is made by the writer, but no attention, either personal or editorial, can be paid to anonymous communications.

Interdependence

To the Editors of The Outlook :

Will you kindly explain what you mean in your editorial of June 11 in applying the term "interdependent" to our future relations with the Philippines? I infer that you mean a continuation of such relations towards us as exist to-day, in which Filipinos have no share in our government. Scotland's "mutually respecting interdependence" with England involves her share in the general government of the British nation. Each one of our States is, of course, politically interdependent with all the other of the forty-five States simply because each shares in the government of the whole. If you desire to have the Philippines interdependent with us, what can this mean other than their people voting for our President and sending representatives to Congress? I know of no American who wants this, though the small Federalist party among the Filipinos are anxious for it.

You say the petitioners for Philippine independence practically repeat the arguments once made against the "incorporation of Louisiana and afterward of Oregon." These were incorporated by being made regular parts of the United States, presently to take their share in the general government. As no one but a few Filipinos even suggest any such incorporation of the Filipinos into our body politic as that which took place when these Territories were admitted, I fail to understand the bearing of your statement.

Popular confusion of thought or misuse of terms is so dangerous at this critical period when so many are half-consciously changing their principles of political action, that I venture to ask you, who guide the thought of so many, to make clearer whether you want the Filipinos ever to be interdependent with us as are Scotland and England with each other and Illinois and Ohio with the other States of the United States.

LUCIA AMES MEAD.

[Scotland and Ireland have no home rule, but have representation in the British Parliament; Australia and Canada have no representation in the British Parliament, but have home rule; Egypt has neither home rule nor representation in the British Parliament; New York has both home rule and representation in Congress. These represent four methods by which communities are to-day connected in a relationship of interdependence, and others might easily be suggested. It is not possible that the United States will be ever related to the Philippines as either Egypt or Scotland is to England, for we have promised them local self-government, and we are organizing the institutions

of local self-government as rapidly as possible. Whether their relation to America shall be that of Canada to Great Britain or of New York to the United States, or whether they shall become absolutely independent, no one at this juncture is wise enough to foretell. We think it more probable that their relation will be analogous to that of Canada and Australia to Great Britain; that is, that they will have absolute local self-government, no representation in the Federal Congress, and yet be under the American flag and possess the advantages which that political fellowship will confer upon them.—THE EDITORS.]

An Armenian's Protest

To the Editors of The Outlook :

Mr. Charles de Kay, the writer of the article "The Suppression of a Faith," in The Outlook, is worthy of the heartfelt gratitude of the people whose misfortunes and sufferings he has described with such feeling and accuracy. We Armenians feel more deeply the persecution our race is suffering by the hands of the Czar of Russia than the cruel massacres perpetrated by the Sultan in Turkey. It is a comfort to thousands of Christian men and women, who are choosing death, yes, fates far worse than death, rather than accept Mohammedanism, to think that in suffering as they do by the hands of a heathen nation they are following the footsteps of their brave forefathers of glorious and holy memory, and are giving up their lives that they, as a nation, might retain their ancient and true faith.

But to be subjected to these pitiless oppressions, to be robbed of our faith and of our tongue with such almost heathenish disregard of all sentiments of justice and righteousness, to see our churches (dearer to us than our homes) attacked and plundered, our venerable and beloved Head subjected to such humiliations and sorrows in his old age, and all these by the approval, nay, express order, of a Christian ruler, is harder, indeed, to endure.

Such a protest as that of Mr. Charles de Kay and others, coming from a Christian public, will do much to rehabilitate the religion Russia has disgraced through centuries of intolerable tyranny, massacres, hypocrisy, and duplicity. With a record like this to the credit of a Christian nation, much of the value of that phase of Christian Evidences which deals with the effect of Christianity on the life and conduct of the people professing it is discounted. Men will be found who will argue that the tolerance, straightforwardness, and integrity of the Japanese, as a nation, stand in a better light than the

religion which after so many centuries still finds Russia a land of oppression. A comparison between the Mikado of "heathen" Japan and the Czar of "Holy" Russia, as far as we know them by the administration of their respective people and country, will raise the blush of shame to the cheek of a Christian.

Nor will it avail much to contend that the course pursued by Russia is in direct contradiction to the true spirit of Christianity, which should be judged by the effects on people who more faithfully follow its precepts. The question will then arise, Will Christianity ever produce better results in Russia with the material in hand? Is not its efficiency limited by racial conditions? We are accustomed to read in our handbooks of Christian evidences how, after abolishing slavery, raising womanhood to its present position, etc., Christianity is going to abolish war, the last trait of barbarism still lingering in human society. Our future apologist would, no doubt, have pointed to Nicholas II. as the Christian ruler who took the first important step to bring about this happy consummation; but, unfortunately for our religion, no less than for himself, subsequent events have shown what was suspected at the time by shrewd observers, that, whatever the Czar's design was in posing as a lover of Universal Peace, Christianity was not his motive.

H. M.

A View of the Negro from a Northerner Resident in the South

To the Editors of The Outlook:

Peace has come to the negro by his removal from politics. Without this peace neither race in the South could prosper, nor could the present era of industrial prosperity have been possible. White men can now teach negro Sunday-schools and engage in other religious work among the colored people, as the writer is now doing, without being suspected by their own race of being pious for political ends. The colored people themselves also have no cause to suspect the white man's motive now, since no votes are to be gained. If the foregoing is true, then he who incites the negro to political activity at present is his enemy. His greatest leader, Booker T. Washington, has taken this position. He acknowledges that his race is yet an apprentice in the trade of government, and, therefore, must submit for some time yet to the Caucasian journeyman in that trade, who through great trials and centuries of bloody struggle has come to the mastery in government.

What, then, is the negro to do in this era of peace brought in by his removal from politics? Drop politics for a time. Get spiritual and material riches, mental and moral worth, cash and character. Wherever in the South he possesses these things he has the cordial respect of his white neighbors. Since no race can rise above its homes, let all the moral power of this Nation be focused

on the home, of both black and white; help the mothers to honor motherhood, and show them how to train their children in the fear of God. Not the Sunday-school only, but the Christian day-school and Sunday-school together can settle this question for the colored race.

What the negro race must have first are Bible-reading mothers in houses with more than one room. Give us these in large numbers, and good boys and men will be plenty, and the immoral negro preacher, who is the worst single feature perhaps of the question, will have no partner for his sins. The negro mothers need all the help this generation of Christians can give them. They, rather than the men, have the great burden of rearing the children. It is common all over the South to find colored mothers struggling alone with a large family of children whom the father has deserted when the burden became too heavy.

Now a word about race hatred, race revulsion, or race antipathy. Many people in the North believe the devil is the author of it, and some people in the South are more devoted to it than to religion. Race antipathy is really a race instinct, a moral antitoxin developed by nature in the individual whose environment involves constant and close contact with an inferior race in large numbers. It works for the salvation of the purity of the superior race.

There is no place for pessimism in this whole colored question. The Christian optimist of to-day, as the successor of the Christian slaveholder, is coming to the front, and, though slow in doing it, will unite with the sensible teacher from the North for the moral development of a backward race.

EDWARD B. TAYLOR.

Columbia, South Carolina.

Making Americans

If the Italian immigrants who are now coming to the United States in such great numbers are to be a factor in the building up of the Nation, they must become American in ways and thought and speech. The Italian Settlement House of Brooklyn is making for the Italians who come within its influence a way to real American citizenship. In the past two months it has enrolled more new boys and young men in its classes than ever before in a like period. A number of these hearty and industrious fellows have come during that time without any knowledge of English, and with no means of obtaining such knowledge elsewhere. The Settlement has the only free night school in its neighborhood open all through the summer. It has had to pay out more than ever before for teachers, and it cannot well afford to do so longer, unless those who are interested in making Americans of these Italians will come to its support. Mr. W. E. Davenport, known to the readers of *The Outlook* as a contributor to its pages, is head worker, and may be addressed at 29 Front Street, Brooklyn, New York.